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This summary report describes CROSS-TELL, a 2-year project to demonstrate ways of communicating and utilizing research findings on the urban poor. These findings, derived from the earlier "Child Rearing Study of Low Income Families in the District of Columbia" (CRS), were disseminated to educators, social workers, and other professionals for whom an understanding of the urban poor is essential. Materials prepared and distributed by the project included a series of booklets based on the CRS material and a project newsletter. Teacher institutes, a 2-day workshop, and cooperative activities with other agencies and poverty-related projects were additional components of CROSS-TELL. To measure the project's effectiveness, questionnaires were distributed to a representative sample of the project audience. Distributed before and after the sample audience had contact with the project, the questionnaires asked the respondents their opinions on selected poverty issues and the extent to which they were reached by CROSS-TELL programs. The results of the questionnaire survey confirmed the project's effectiveness. (LB)

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COMMUNICATING AND UTILIZING POVERTY RESEARCH

This project was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health under Mental Health Grant MH-2197 as "Utilizing Research Findings on the Urban Poor." The project began in November, 1965, and was completed in January, 1968. Although the title has been changed, the purpose remains the same: to demonstrate ways of communicating poverty research findings.

Health and Welfare Council
of the National Capital Area,
95 M Street, Southwest,
Washington, D. C., 20024

January, 1968

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HEALTH AND WELFARE COUNCIL

of the National Capital Area

95 M Street, S.W., Washington, D. C. 20024 — 554-1333

January 31, 1968

Dr. Howard R. Davis, Chief
Applied Research Branch
National Institute of Mental Health
5454 Wisconsin Avenue
Chevy Chase, Md. 20203

Dear Dr. Davis:

We are pleased to transmit this final report on a unique experience. In 1960, four years before the dramatic new concern about poverty in the nation was promoted, the Health and Welfare Council, a local community study and action agency, undertook a project to study in depth the life of poor families. That initial effort, the Child Rearing Study, financed by the National Institute of Mental Health, achieved its aims by collecting and analyzing a wealth of qualitative information about low income living.

By the time the study was completed the thirst for knowledge about poverty was great. Community action against poverty was widespread around the country. The same local agency which had done research on poverty proposed a project to communicate that research. This report on CROSS-TELL, the communication program, concludes the second phase of this chain of study and teaching.

Through publications -- more than 59,000 copies of them -- and face-to-face discussions, we conveyed to many persons a view of poverty drawn from four years of listening to the poor. This report describes how we communicated, and tells something of the results. We hope and believe it contributes to understanding of the complex and difficult task of bridging the gap between the conduct and the utilization of social research.

Sincerely yours,

Isadore Seeman
Executive Director
Health and Welfare Council
of the National Capital Area

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART 1

A Summary Report of an NIMH Project Titled "Communicating Research on the Urban Poor" (CROSS-TELL)

Acknowledgements: A Note on CROSS-TELL's Trials and Triumphs ..... page iv

Introduction: Why CROSS-TELL? 1

The CROSS-TELL Message 6

- The Child Rearing Study and CRS Data Available to CROSS-TELL 6
- CRS Findings and Popular Misconceptions about Poverty 10
- The CROSS-TELL Challenge to Poverty Myths 12
- CRS Propositions about Poverty 16

The CROSS-TELL Medium 19

- The CROSS-TELL Operation 19
- The Publications Component 27
- The Teaching Component 44
- Other CROSS-TELL Activities 59

A CROSS-TELL Balance Sheet 62

- CROSS-TELL's Reach 62
- Utilization of CROSS-TELL Resources 70
- "Volunteer" Publicity 76
- Assessing the CROSS-TELL Project 79
- CROSS-TELL in a Larger Perspective 85
- Conclusions 90

PART 2

An Objective Evaluation: The Results of Before and After Questionnaires

- The Study Plan 93
- The Study Population 93
- Characteristics of Those Who Replied 94
- The Reach of CROSS-TELL 99
- Agreement with Child Rearing Study Propositions 101
- Change in Agreement with CRS Propositions 104
- Change in Agreement in Relation to CROSS-TELL Exposure 106
- Other Findings of the Questionnaire Survey 108
- Conclusions 115

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Exhibits Submitted to the National Institute of Mental Health with the CROSS-TELL Summary Report 118

Appendix II: Child Rearing Study Propositions about Poverty 120

Appendix III: There Was No Food in the House 124

Appendix IV: A Chronology of CROSS-TELL Activities 136

Appendix V: Questionnaires Used in Evaluating the CROSS-TELL Project. 142

1. A Summary Report of an NIMH Project Titled "Communicating Research on the Urban Poor" (CROSS-TELL)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: A Note on CROSS-TELL's Trials and Triumphs

The publication of this summary report marks the end of the CROSS-TELL project, and like the end of any challenging and exhausting task, this occasions mixed feelings of relief and regret. The very writing of the report recalls many of the pleasures of having done particular phases of the job well, but it also brings to mind plans that either went awry or were left undone.

As a work experience, a demonstration project is nothing if not unique. There never seems to be enough time: to fully plan and fully develop programs; to try and err, to try again and recoup. And though the uniqueness of the project is a challenge to staff members -- who often work to all hours on a particular program -- they are all faced with the cold fact that the job is temporary. In sum, a project is -- at worst -- a pitfall in one's career path and -- at best -- a stepping-stone to a job that will offer as many rewards, without the frustrations caused by the pervasive *impermanency*.

It is with special thanks, then, that I acknowledge the assistance of staff members who contributed their minds and their energies over varying periods of time to the short life of the project. And to avoid status and value judgements, I list them here in alaphabetical order: Maxine Blyther, Rachel Brown, Anna Holden, Eugene Lerner, Adam Oliphant, Jirina Polivka and Patricia Vailes.

As for our performance, we had our peaks and valleys, but when we were at our best -- in preparing for the dramatic program, in conducting

the workshop, in the more routine tasks of typing, collating, mailing -- this small unit was as cohesive and productive as any that I have ever known.

As for the preparation of this summary report, I am particularly indebted to Anna Holden, assistant director, and Rachel Brown, administrative assistant. Editorially and typographically, they tied up many of the loose ends of this document. And then thanks certainly should go to our audiences and a number of consultants and research persons, particularly B. P. Carucci whose typographical designs contributed so much to the distinctive appearance of CROSS-TELL documents.

A special "thank you" goes to Isadore Seeman, executive director of the Health and Welfare Council and other staff colleagues who gave us the opportunity to do the project and let us have our heads while doing it. Our respects, too, are due the members of the original Child Rearing Study staff, several of whom also worked on the CROSS-TELL project. Of those who did not, it was Camille Jeffers, associate director, who first fully oriented me to the rich validity of CRS materials. And the ultimate tribute must go to Hylan Lewis, CRS director, whose counsel was indispensable to the execution of the CROSS-TELL project. Perhaps the best summary statement for this report can be made from a single anecdote involving Dr. Lewis. It was noted in another CROSS-TELL document, but certainly bears repeating here.

Many students of low income living will recall that one of the chapters in E. Franklin Frazier's *The Negro Family* was titled "In the City of Destruction." In this chapter, Frazier examined the pathological consequences of urbanization for many Negroes. In writing one of the CROSS-TELL booklets, I borrowed Frazier's heading for one of the sections. When Dr. Lewis was shown the manuscript, in his illegible handwriting he made an editorial insertion between the words "of" and "destruction."

"What does that mean?," I asked.

"In the City of *Hope* and Destruction," he said.

And if we were to use just one precise word to describe what this report and the Child Rearing Study are all about, we would say "hope." The study, in sum, gave CROSS-TELLERS an honorable basis for their labors.

Luther P. Jackson
CROSS-TELL Project Director

Introduction: WHY CROSS-TELL?

Sorely lacking...has been the availability of some of the relevant concepts and insights on the multiple facets of low income life that lie behind the statistics.[1]

As a new acronym among the multitude in the Nation's Capital, CROSS-TELL had an identity problem. For the first few months of the two-year demonstration project, staff members could hardly use the telephone without being assailed with questions about the name and nature of the project. Many of these questions boiled down to this: "Why CROSS-TELL?"

The purpose of this report is to give a comprehensive answer to that question in terms of the project's goals, procedures and achievements.

CROSS-TELL's function was to "tell" about the Child Rearing Study (CRS) of Low Income Families in the District of Columbia, a research project which preceded CROSS-TELL. Both CROSS-TELL and CRS were funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and sponsored by the Health and Welfare Council (HWC) of the National Capital Area. As for the nomenclature, CROSS-TELL is an acronym gone somewhat awry. It is partly derived from the project's formal name, Communicating Research on the Urban Poor, and partly from the abbreviated title of the original research project, namely, CRS.

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[1] Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Application for Mental Health Project Grant, "Utilizing Research Findings on the Urban Poor," February 18, 1965, 6

The Health and Welfare Council is a private, voluntary, nonprofit organization financed chiefly by the annual campaigns of the United Givers Fund. HWC volunteer citizen committees determine the eligibility of community voluntary agencies for campaign funds and determine the amount of funds allocated to each of the participating agencies. The HWC staff provides advisory services, helping participating agencies to plan, develop and coordinate their programs. Beyond this, HWC conducts community study and action projects concerned with improving the program and services of both voluntary and governmental agencies.

Perhaps the best perspective for viewing the CROSS-TELL project is in the context of HWC's ten-year focus on the District's problems of dependency and poverty.

As part of its function of stimulating public interest and action on community welfare problems, HWC conducted a series of projects in the late 1950's and early 1960's focusing on the causes and effects of dependency among the District of Columbia's low income families. Jointly, these projects combined the elements of research, planning and action.

The first of these projects, The Junior Village Study, spotlighted the broad problems affecting dependency in the Nation's Capital as they were manifest in the problems of that large public institution for homeless and abandoned children. HWC's second project, The Neighborhood Service Project, approached dependency from the standpoint of intensive neighborhood family services performed through settlement houses. The third HWC project, The Voluntary Services Study, assessed the role of all private agencies in solving dependency and related problems.

The Voluntary Services Study noted a failure by social agencies to reach "a reasonable proportion of low income families and of Negroes among the agencies' clientele." To correct this condition, the study recommended that new courses of service to poor families be charted by both voluntary and public agencies. To accomplish this, the study recognized that

> Many present patterns will need to be shifted. Many traditions will need to be broken. Many minds will need to be changed. Many people will need to be informed and persuaded.[1]

In 1960, well before the heightening of national concern about poverty and the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, HWC undertook another project related to the District's dependency problems, the Child Rearing Study of Low Income Families in the District of Columbia. The CRS study explored in depth many facets of low income life related to child neglect and dependency, as well as other aspects of inadequate child rearing. The family case histories collected by the Child Rearing Study illuminate many of the problems faced by low income families. CRS study findings attack a number of popular misconceptions and stereotypes about the poor, as well as some of the social theories upon which many agency programs are based.

CRS study findings proved to be significant and massive, too voluminous to digest and disseminate before the research project concluded. Awareness that the agency had accumulated more knowledge than it could convey through its routine channels led HWC to a decision to disseminate the findings of the Child Rearing Study through a special communications project. The agency considered CRS findings of such value to practitioners and decision-makers that a special project was formulated to inform school teachers, principals, social workers, policemen, academicians, businessmen, housing managers, agency directors, volunteers and government officials of the results of the study.

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[1] Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, "Major Directions for Progress in Services for People. Summary Report of the HWC Voluntary Service Study" (Washington, D. C.: The Council, January, 1965), 26, 47

That special project, launched in November, 1965, is known to the National Institute of Mental Health as MH 2197, or "Utilizing Research Findings on the Urban Poor." It was renamed "Communicating Research on the Urban Poor" for operational purposes and is better know as CROSS-TELL.

A final note on the nature of CRS findings might be helpful in assessing CROSS-TELL's program and achievements. The Child Rearing Study reported and described life conditions among low income families, placing the factual material gathered in a meaningful theoretical context. CRS material contained few specific recommendations for programmatic change, although the need for change and the direction for change is often implied. In transmitting CRS materials to practitioners and policy-makers, CROSS-TELL presented the factual and theoretical material developed by the Child Rearing Study without adding specific recommendations for programmatic change.

CROSS-TELL, then, did not make definite recommendations as to how practitioners or policy-makers might change their prevailing methods, nor did it recommend any new programs or facilities. CROSS-TELL suggested that CRS findings be considered in looking at clients and methods, programs and facilities. In other words, CROSS-TELL focused on the capacity of CRS materials for changing individual *points of view*. CROSS-TELL saw its job as communicating ideas that might generate a better relationship between people -- people who are teachers and social workers, for example, and are called "middle class," and people who are pupils and clients and are called "poor."

THE CROSS-TELL MESSAGE

The data of the Child Rearing Study in Washington, D. C. point up the similarity of wants and values, if not behavior and conditions, between the poor and the non-poor.[1]

The Child Rearing Study and CRS Data Available to CROSS-TELL

The Child Rearing Study of Low Income Families in the District of Columbia was precisely that -- a study of people who lack money. The study found little evidence of value and behavior patterns based solely on race and class distinctions; nor did it find the cultural differences between the affluent and the poor presumed by some scholars. Rather, the study found behavior patterns and ways of life as diverse as human nature itself, although the families faced many common problems associated with poverty and race discrimination.

The CRS study group was predominately Negro, but the study was not a study of Negro families, "lower class" families or "culturally deprived" families. Rather, CRS used the tools of sociology and anthropology to take a close look at low income families, Negro and white, in a city whose low income population is overwhelmingly Negro.

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[1] Hylan Lewis, "Culture, Class and Poverty" (Washington, D. C.: CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, February, 1967), 48. "Culture, Class and Poverty" is among the CROSS-TELL documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 1. A complete list of exhibits forwarded with this report is found in Appendix I.

Dr. Hylan Lewis, CRS director, summarized the primary objectives of the Child Rearing Study as follows:

> The focus of the project is on the relationships between the conditions of life of low income families and parental inadequacy, child neglect, and dependency....While the central interest has been in child rearing practices and community settings among low income "problem" families, for comparative purposes, material has been obtained on low income families without "problems" and on "adequate" income families.[1]

In taking a fresh look at poverty, CRS concentrated on a small number of families within their natural settings -- the slum dwelling and the public housing project, the streetcorner and the settlement house. CRS interviewed families, but did not seek structured responses or surface characteristics. "The purpose," as Dr. Lewis phrased it," is to get material in depth, to see as well as listen."[2] In addition to unstructured interviews, participant observation and direct observation were used to collect family and community data. During the four years of field work and analysis, CRS classified, coded and analyzed thousands of items of data extracted from interviews and field observations. CRS workers prepared numerous reports and working papers, including several book-length manuscripts and taped interview transcripts.

Many of the families studied by CRS are among those known to teachers, social workers and other practitioners working with low income families by various labels and categories, such as "ADC mothers," "school dropouts,"

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[1] "Culture, Class and Poverty," 2-3

[2] "Culture, Class and Poverty," 3

"neglected children," "felons," "parollees" and "probationers." The job of CRS was to look beyond the labels and categories; to see the poor as they see themselves; to see the poor on their own terms; to find out what poor families think they are and what they think they should be, rather than what the society thinks poor families are and what society thinks they should be.

In preparing materials for its communications effort, CROSS-TELL drew most heavily from reports and papers resulting from one phase of the CRS operation -- a study of 55 families with a median income of $3,500. Here are some other characteristics of the 55 families:

> Forty-seven of the families were Negro and eight were white.
>
> Twenty-two of the 55 families received Public Assistance.
>
> Two out of three families lived in the Central Northwest section of Washington with most of these in the Second Police Precinct area. Others were scattered in the Northwest, Northeast and Southeast quadrants of the city.
>
> Seventeen years was the average length of residence of family heads in the District, with a range from 6 months to 35 years. Three family heads were native to the city.
>
> Twenty-nine of the 55 families had both parents in the household.
>
> There were 256 children, 18 years or under in the 55 families, with an average of between four and five children per household.[1]

At least 14 professional papers and reports based primarily on analysis of this study group of 55 families were available to the CROSS-TELL project.

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[1] Luther P. Jackson, "Poverty's Children" (Washington, D. C.: CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, September, 1966), 2. "Poverty's Children" is among the CROSS-TELL documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 2.

Papers and reports CROSS-TELL could draw from included the CRS progress report to NIMH, *Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia: A Progress Report. September, 1959-March, 1961,* and a group of key papers by Dr. Lewis, such as "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia," presented to the National Conference on Social Welfare, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 16, 1961; "Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low Income Families," presented to the Conference on Lower Class Culture, Barbizon Plaza Hotel, New York, New York, June 27-29, 1963; and "The Culture of Poverty Approach to Social Problems," delivered at the Plenary Session of the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Montreal, Canada, August 29, 1964. Camille Jeffers' "Three Generations: Case Materials in Low Income Urban Living," a case document reporting family data from three generations of a family in the CRS study group, was also among the Child Rearing Study papers to which CROSS-TELL had access.[1]

In addition to papers and reports based primarily on the study group of 55 families, reports on three special CRS sub-studies were also available:

(1) *Living Poor. A Participant-Observation Study of Choices and Priorities,* a book-length manuscript by Camille Jeffers reporting her 15 months experience living in a low income public housing project in Washington, D. C.;

(2) *Tally's Corner. A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men,* a book-length doctoral dissertation by Elliot Liebow, a CRS field worker who "hung out" with Negro streetcorner men in the inner city between January, 1962 and July, 1963; and

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[1] Washington, D. C.: Child Rearing Study, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, December 2-4, 1964.

(3) "Upton Square, A Field Report and Commentary," a digest of anthropologist Richard Slobodin's summer's observations in a one-block working class enclave near Washington's center city slums.

CROSS-TELL was also able to draw upon a number of CRS staff working papers and preliminary analyses covering a wide variety of subject areas and topics related to low income family life. The CRS staff working papers covered subject areas such as marriage relations between parents; sex values, premarital pregnancy and illegitimacy; the low income father and male adult; the identification of "cutting points" in parental control; parents' educational and career aspirations; attitudes about housing; parents' attitudes toward their neighborhood; parents' accomodations to their neighborhood; female workers and working mothers; welfare services; and health and health services. Data from many of these working papers were utilized in preparing CROSS-TELL documents, such as "Poverty's Children" and "Perspectives on Poverty."

CRS Findings and Popular Misconceptions about Poverty

Some of the major conclusions of the Child Rearing Study run counter to or, at least, raise serious questions about many prevelant social theories about poverty, the poor, and possible solutions to poverty problems.

Fairly early in the study, for example, CRS preliminary findings challenged the concept of a separate lower class culture "with an integrity of its own; a characteristic set of practices, focal concerns, and ways that are meaningful and systematically related to one another, rather than to corresponding features of middle class culture".[1] Delivering a paper to the National Conference on Social Welfare, May 16, 1961, Dr. Lewis summarized CRS findings in this area and pointed out their relevance for programs attempting to cope with poverty problems:

> Our materials suggest that neither the quality of life in most low income neighborhoods nor the varying child rearing behaviors of low income families observed by our staff is to be interpreted as generated by, or guided by, "a cultural system in its own right -- with an integrity of its own." The behaviors observed in these varying low income families do not present the kind of organization or cohesion suggested by these phrases. Rather they appear as a broad spectrum of pragmatic adjustments to external and internal stresses and deprivations. *In any event, programming might best focus on the facts of deprivation and the varied responses rather than on presumable organized values that represent a preferred or chosen way of life.*[2]

As the Federal War On Poverty and privately sponsored anti-poverty efforts accelerated, CRS became increasingly concerned by approaches to poverty problems based on tentative and debatable social science theories of a separate "lower class culture" and a "culture of poverty." In a paper analyzing and commenting upon "The Culture of Poverty Approach to Social Problems," delivered at a meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, August 29, 1964, Dr. Lewis outlined some of the dangers that "lie in the indiscriminate use of certain phrases and in a particular approach achieving near-monopoly status." The "culture of poverty" approach, he pointed out, overstresses differences and the significance of differences between the poor and the non-poor. "It can easily result in a kind of sloganeering and name-calling approach that covers up the real issues," he also stated, noting:

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[1] Walter B. Miller, "The Culture of the Roxbury Community," a paper delivered at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Philadelphia, Pa., 1957, as quoted in Lewis, "Culture, Class and Poverty," 11

[2] "Culture, Class and Poverty," 11. Emphasis added.

> ...too frequently, the original or scholarly statement of the approach becomes distorted and extrapolated into assertions that both damage or distort the picture of the behavior of many urban poor in the United States....The [culture of poverty] approach also tends to divert and to prevent scientists and laymen alike from looking at the real and primary causes and consequences of being poor.[1]

The CROSS-TELL Challenge to Poverty Myths

If CROSS-TELL was to influence the thinking of policy-makers and practitioners who plan and shape programs, one of its major tasks was to challenge popular myths, misconceptions and stereotypes which affect approaches to poverty problems. In other words, if CROSS-TELL was to change minds, break traditions and shift present patterns of public and private services for low income families, part of its job was to communicate a point of view that poor families are an integral part of, rather than a distinct and separate entity within, the larger society.

One of the popular assumptions about "the poor" which CROSS-TELL challenged early in its history, starts with the proposition that Negro low income families, particularly, are not only a class and a race apart from the American mainstream, but are also a "culture" apart in terms of attitudes, values and goals. By this rationale, the Negro poor are supposed to be especially "hard to reach" by both whites and middle class Negroes. In addition to publishing and distributing CRS papers dealing with the implications of theories of a "lower class culture" and a "culture of poverty,"[1] CROSS-TELL attacked this assumption by citing the experiences of CRS investigators. CROSS-TELL pointed out that a white, professional CRS worker, Elliot Liebow, was able to "hang out" successfully for nearly a year and a half with Negro streetcorner men -- men who are often accused of being hostile and non-communicative, particularly to whites. CROSS-TELL also published CRS worker Camille Jeffers' comments on her positive relationships with persons she met and got to know through her experience in living in a public housing development. Mrs. Jeffers is a Negro social worker now on the staff of Atlanta University.[2]

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[1] "Culture, Class and Poverty." 43-47

CROSS-TELL meetings and publications noted that in much of the current literature on poverty, tentative social science findings which need further checking and rechecking often become the basis for sweeping generalizations about the Nation's poor -- generalizations which are accepted and acted upon prematurely by policy-makers. The CROSS-TELL booklet, "Culture, Class and Poverty," for example, pointed out that a scientific approach such as the "culture of poverty" approach is valid for certain purposes and is useful as a tool for analysis at certain levels, but this

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[1] Lewis, "Culture, Class and Poverty" contains three papers by Hylan Lewis which deals with these issues.

[2] Jackson, "Poverty's Children," 2-4

> does not mean necessarily that in its present form it is either an appropriate guide to action or the most useful single tool to place in the hands of those who have to deal directly with U. S. urban people with problems or with U. S. urban people who are problems.[1]

CROSS-TELL also used CRS material to challenge widespread over-reliance on labels and short-hand designations that tend to make the differences between the poor and the non-poor seem larger than they are. Barriers between the poor and the affluent are often heightened by too much dependence on imprecise, pseudo-scientific labels, such as "underprivileged" and "culturally deprived." CROSS-TELL pointed out in "Poverty's Children," for instance:

> These labels may sound inoffensive enough, but they tend to put all of the poor under the same umbrella, thereby obscuring specific problems. Too often, for instance, scholars say "underprivileged" when they mean "Negro." This tends to oversimplify the race problem and ignores Negroes who may be just privileged or, in a few instances, overprivileged....Such designations as "urban jungle" unwittingly feed the public's insatiable interest in sex and crime.[2]

Drawing from CRS material, CROSS-TELL also called attention to "neo-stereotypes" that have emerged to "explain" illegitimacy and its causes, particularly among low income Negroes. "These new stereotypes have displaced older prejudgements (Negroes are innately stupid, dishonest, lazy

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[1] 49

[2] 4-5

ad infinitum)," CROSS-TELL stated in "Poverty's Children." "Poverty's Children" also noted that, "Neo-stereotypes threaten to introduce new oversimplifications that make for new distortions." Among the neo-stereotypes assigned to poor families, generally, and to Negro families, particularly, CROSS-TELL cited notions that the sexuality of the lower class is spontaneous, natural and free from inhibitions; that unwed mothers have babies to increase welfare payments; and that lower class Negroes attach no stigma to illegitimacy. CROSS-TELL also identified another frequent neo-stereotype which has its roots in history -- the idea that a matriarchal family pattern based on the unfettered motherhood among Negro slave women is largely responsible for today's relatively high statistical incidence of Negro illegitimacy and female-based households. In addition to calling attention to these new stereotypes, CROSS-TELL refuted these sweeping generalizations by publishing data from CRS interviews and field observations and from historical works on the Negro family.[1]

CROSS-TELL also conveyed the CRS message that there is no such thing as the typical Negro family, or the typical low income family, Negro or white. More likely than not, CROSS-TELL pointed out, the attitudes that poor people have about child rearing, work, education and sex will coincide with "middle class standards" held by a teacher or a social worker. Thus the families should be looked at individually by all who try to help them.

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[1] Jackson, "Poverty's Children," 5

CROSS-TELL, in sum, attempted to show that

> the problems besetting poor families often mirror those that affect the affluent society; that differences between middle income and low income lie not so much in life objectives as in the ways that poor families alone must face the grim consequences of insufficient income. From the perspective of poverty, excessive drinking, stealing, fighting, or sexual promiscuity is frequently condemned, often tolerated, but rarely condoned. CRS workers found that within the ranks of the poor there are some who are lazy, others ambitious; some strait-laced, others sinful; some wasteful, others thrifty....the lives of the poor are as diverse as human nature itself.[1]

CRS Propositions about Poverty

In developing a theoretical framework for selecting, organizing and teaching CRS materials, CROSS-TELL extracted from numerous CRS reports and papers a group of basic "propositions" or generalizations about low income families and poverty. Propositions that were considered most valid and those that could be most fully documented were categorized in six subject areas: (1) Child Development, (2) Goals and Aspirations, (3) Sex and Illegitimacy, (4) Income and Management, (5) The Low Income Male, and (6) Urbanization and Discrimination. Most of CROSS-TELL's programs and several of its publications -- "Poverty's Children," the CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook, and "Perspectives on Poverty" -- were organized around these six topical areas, or "cycles" as CROSS-TELL generally called them.[2]

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[1] Jackson, "Poverty's Children," 6-7

[2] The CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook and a workshop publication which contains the manual, "Perspectives on Poverty," are among the exhibits presented to NIMH with this report. See Exhibits 3 and 4.

The CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook, for example, contains propositions in the areas of Child Development, Goals and Aspirations, and Sex and Illegitimacy. Each set of propositions is followed by case material and selected interview responses which support and illustrate the propositions.

The Notebook section on Goals and Aspirations, for instance, begins with a statement of the CRS premise that the poor recognize and affirm "middle class values," but lack the money to realize the goals and aspirations that inextricably bind them to the larger society. Three other propositions reflecting the CRS point of view on low income families' hopes and strivings, also included in the Notebook are:

> A major aspiration of low income parents for their children is to see their children do better in life than they have been able to do themselves -- especially in jobs, education and family behavior.
>
> Many low income parents assess their own child rearing performances in terms of advances they have made over the child rearing circumstances and performances of their own parents.
>
> A great deal of behavior among low income urban families reflects a straddling of behavior and of goals associated with deprivation and poverty on the one hand, and higher socioeconomic status and affluence on the other hand.

The rest of the Notebook "cycle" on Goals and Aspirations features case material on two families: (1) the Redmonds, a young Negro couple with a great determination to get ahead; and (2) the Kenneth Dalys, a white family where the mother, especially, has high educational and occupational aspirations for the children.[1]

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[1] CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook (Washington, D. C.: CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, 1966-67), no pagination.

Propositions in the area of Child Development utilized in CROSS-TELL documents and meetings include generalizations about the "priority to physical needs" emphasized by low income families and the "cut off" process in child control which takes place relatively early in the low income family.

A summary of CRS propositions utilized by CROSS-TELL in its teaching program and publications is found in Appendix II.

THE CROSS-TELL MEDIUM

I read, with great interest and no small amount of emotional reaction the booklet, "Tell[ing] It Like It Is!"...Such materials are vital... if we "professionals" are going to make any substantial and meaningful contributions to this process of striving for societal humaneness.[1]

By November, 1965, when CROSS-TELL began its operation, the pace of the War on Poverty had quickened. The proliferation of new agencies and programs was at its peak, greatly increasing the numbers of persons involved in "helping" the poor. These persons included professional and non-professional workers with an infinite range of training and experience. There was a growing consciousness of the social and economic division between the affluent society and the "other" America and an awareness that many private agencies had disengaged themselves from the poor; that public welfare programs were not only inadequate, but in some ways contributed to dependency. The time was ripe for a CROSS-TELL type project.

The CROSS-TELL Operation

Staff: The CROSS-TELL staff included a director; from one to three professional staff members other than the director, the number fluctuating during the course of the project; a part-time research consultant; a secretary, and a clerk-typist. There was a good deal of carry over from the CRS project. Two of the full-time professional staff members employed at different times during the project had worked on the staff of the Child Rearing Study. The part-time research consultant was a former CRS staff member. The CROSS-TELL director, a journalist, had worked as an editorial consultant during the last three months of CRS. Dr. Hylan Lewis, director of the Child Rearing Study, acted as chief consultant to CROSS-TELL and reviewed most of the printed materials prepared during the CROSS-TELL project.

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[1] Letter from a staff member of a university community leadership center. September 21, 1967

The size and composition of the professional staff varied throughout the project. At no time were there more than four full-time professional staff members.

The CROSS-TELL director concentrated primarily on preparing written material for the project -- correspondence and memoranda, the booklets and the newsletter -- in addition to taking responsibility for overall administration of the project. During part of the project the director employed an assistant to relieve him of some of his administrative duties. Throughout most of the project, the staff included a full-time social scientist formerly associated with the Child Rearing Study. An anthropologist served in this capacity the first year; a sociologist, the second year. These two persons and the research consultant were familiar with CRS materials and files and helped select, organize and interpret the research. A project assistant with a social work background was employed during most of the planning and teaching phases of the project to arrange meetings with health and welfare agencies and interpret and apply CRS findings in social work and related fields.

Project plans called for a second project assistant who would carry out a similar function in the education field, but this post was never filled.

Goals and Objectives: Specific aims of the CROSS-TELL project, as stated in the proposal to NIMH were:

(a) to develop methods -- individual and group, formal and informal -- for working with policy-making and operating personnel in community agencies to interpret the findings of the Child Rearing Study;

(b) to prepare selected materials from the Child Rearing Study for use and dissemination by specialized audiences; and

(c) to develop methods of monitoring and evaluating the procedures and materials used.

The CROSS-TELL organization had the responsibility for carrying out the first two program aims. The Research Department of the Health and Welfare Council assumed responsibility for the third goal. A summary of the results of the Research Department's evaluation is found in Part 2, "An Objective Evaluation: The Results of Before and After Questionnaires."

The proposal outlined a three-level approach for implementing the program aspects of the CROSS-TELL project:

(1) use of the HWC structure as an apparatus of communication to reach groups of agencies and practitioners;

(2) working with individual agencies in social welfare, educational, health, and related fields; and

(3) developing a general broadcast, or "seeding" operation by which material would be disseminated for more general consumption through the mass media and also through channels such as professional social work, educational and housing organizations.

The actual operation of the CROSS-TELL project can be divided into three phases:

(1) the "publications" component, including the preparation, publication and distribution of a series of CROSS-TELL booklets based on Child Rearing Study material, the publication of a CROSS-TELL newsletter, and the issuing of occasional reprints·

(2) the "teaching" component, consisting of a series of Institutes and a two-day Workshop based on Child Rearing Study material; and

(3) cooperative activities with other agencies and groups, including speaking on CRS material at workshops, staff training sessions and conferences of other agencies, and consultation with poverty-related projects and programs.

Because of the director's background, more emphasis was placed on publications than on the other phases of the project. The project proposal called for a major emphasis on agencies and practitioners affiliated with HWC, but CROSS-TELL branched out from this primary target group. CROSS-TELL's publications attracted interest as teaching documents from colleges and universities in D. C. and throughout the country. Both local and Federal anti-poverty agencies utilized CROSS-TELL's booklets and other CRS materials in training staff and volunteers -- a development that was not anticipated at the time the project was planned. CROSS-TELL's teaching program made special efforts to reach Washington public school teachers in low income areas, the staff seeing this as important to community efforts to effect badly needed change in the local school system. In the final analysis, HWC related agencies were *among* the groups and institutions served, but were not *foremost* among these groups.

The CROSS-TELL Audience: Early in the project, the staff developed a mailing list which was to be the major vehicle for defining and reaching the CROSS-TELL "audience." (See Table 1) Persons placed on the mailing list received the CROSS-TELL newsletter, copies of CROSS-TELL booklets based on CRS material, and other occasional mailings such as reprints of poverty-related articles. Since most of CROSS-TELL's activities were announced through the newsletter, persons on the mailing list were notified of CROSS-TELL's program activities. The practitioners, administrators and community leaders placed on the mailing list were selected in conjunction with the Research Department of HWC, since persons on the initial mailing list received a "before" and "after" questionnaire as part of the Research Department's evaluation of the project. (See Part 2, "An Objective Evaluation: The Results of Before and After Questionnaires.")

The mailing list was arbitraily set at about 2,000 and a decision was made to devote half the mailing list to practitioners whose work brings them into direct, face-to-face contact with low income families. In selecting practitioners, the staff decided to focus primarily on public school teachers and social workers. It was felt that these two groups could make the most effective use of CRS materials and would be most likely to attend CROSS-TELL program meetings. Most of the 530 social workers placed on the mailing list were selected randomly from membership lists of Metropolitan Washington Chapters of the National Association of Social Workers. In addition to social workers chosen randomly from NASW lists, the names of selected staff members of the United Planning Organization and Family and Child Services of Washington, D. C. were also added. The UPO staff list included administrators, community education specialists, neighborhood workers and aides employed

TABLE 1. CROSS-TELL MAILING LIST, June, 1966

Categories Selected	Number of Persons	Percent
PRACTITIONERS		
Social workers and anti-poverty workers	530	26
Public school teachers	454	22
Other practitioners	44	2
Total	1,028	50
ADMINISTRATORS		
Welfare agency heads	175	8
School principals	127	6
School board administrators	62	3
Total	364	17
COMMUNITY LEADERS		
HWC personnel, board and committee members	223	11
Federal and District government officials	105	5
Housing officials	24	2
Other community leaders	44	2
Total	396	20
ACADEMICIANS	150	7
COURTESY RECEPIENTS		
Press	31	1
Personal contacts of staff and others added at own request	105	5
TOTAL	2,074	100

in UPO anti-poverty centers in both D. C. and the suburbs. The 454 public school teachers included on the mailing list were selected randomly from an official list of teachers obtained from the Superintendent of the D. C. schools. Other practitioners placed on the initial CROSS-TELL mailing list include 12 police officers and officials of the Metropolitan Police Department and the Montgomery county Juvenile Aid Bureau, and ten staff workers from the D. C. Department of Public Health and the Visiting Nurse Association.

A major CROSS-TELL goal was to reach community leaders and policy-makers whose decisions affect community planning. About one-sixth of the initial mailing list was made up of administrators in social welfare agencies and public schools. HWC staff selected 174 social welfare agencies from "Where to Turn," a directory of health, welfare and recreation services in the D. C. Metropolitan area; executive directors of these agencies were placed on the mailing list. Lists of public school principals and public school administrators in the District of Columbia were obtained from the Superintendent of Schools and all names on these lists were included.

Another one-fifth of the initial mailing list was devoted to "community leaders." Half of this category was made up of selected HWC personnel, board and committee members chosen from the rosters of the Health and Welfare Council and its local units throughout the D. C. Metropolitan area. The 105 Federal and D. C. government officials in this category were selected from listings in the Congressional Directory. This group is made up of the chief executives and commissioners of D. C. and Federal agencies whose programs bear most directly on the problems of low income families. At the Federal level, for example, agencies selected include the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. District agencies chosen include the Redevelopment Land Agency, the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, the Department of Public Health, and the Department of Public Welfare. Twenty-four local housing officials were selected for this category from a directory of administrative, supervisory and managerial personnel employed by the Nation Capital Housing Authority. The other 44 "community leaders" selected include 26 business men, chosen from a list of local firms employing 200 or more persons and from a directory of Negro-owned and operated businesses in Washington, D. C. Eighteen ministers active in a Community Services Project in the Second Police Precinct, a central city slum area, are also in this group.

The 150 "academicians" placed on the mailing list are faculty members in social science, social work and education departments in major colleges and universities in the D. C. Metropolitan area, including American University, the District of Columbia Teachers College, the Catholic University of America, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Howard University and the University of Maryland. Names were selected randomly from catalogues of the respective schools.

Thirty-one reporters and editors who cover events in the poverty field were also placed on the mailing list by the CROSS-TELL director. The initial list included a group of 105 "courtesy recipients" -- personal contacts of the staff and persons who knew about the project and requested that their names be added.

During the first year of the project names were added to the mailing list by request. Toward the latter part of the project, roughly the second year, persons calling or writing the office for CROSS-TELL publications and reprints were automatically placed on the mailing list to receive future publications. At the close of the project there were about 2608 names on the mailing list.

The Publications Component

CROSS-TELL Booklets

As noted earlier, CRS materials accessible to CROSS-TELL consisted of a group of professional research papers and reports, a number of staff working papers, several book-length manuscripts and transcriptions, and thousands of items of data extracted from interviews and field reports. CROSS-TELL's job was to select, edit and communicate the best processed material that would be most meaningful to people in poverty-related fields at both the practice and policy levels. Since most of the CRS papers and reports were quite lucid and free of jargon, the editorial job was not one of "rewriting" for non-professional readers. The job was mainly one of selecting and organizing and, in some cases, condensing and synthesizing the materials. Several CRS papers were published almost in their original form.

"Poverty's Children": The process of selecting CRS material for publication began in August, 1964, when a journalist, later to be the

CROSS-TELL director, was retained for three months as an editorial consultant to the Child Rearing Study. His task was to write a document which would give the general public, as well as professional audiences, an assimilated over-view of CRS findings, particularly as they related to current concerns about poverty. This document was completed during the first months of the CROSS-TELL project and published as CROSS-TELL's first booklet, "Poverty's Children."

The preparation of "Poverty's Children" involved a great deal of "spade work" which eventually bore fruit in other phases of the CROSS-TELL program. For example, one of the first stages of ground work for the writing of "Poverty's Children" involved extracting and classifying generalizations contained in CRS material. These generalizations, or "propositions" about poverty and low income families, were rated by Hylan Lewis, CRS director. Those considered most valid and those that could be fully documented were among the CRS findings highlighted in "Poverty's Children." As noted in "The CROSS-TELL Message," those CRS "propositions" initially culled for "Poverty's Children" were ultimately grouped in topical areas and became the basis for organizing the CROSS-TELL Institutes and other CROSS-TELL publications.

The "Poverty's Children" booklet is divided into three sections: (1) "As Others See Them," (2) "As They See Themselves," and (3) "But for the Grace of God." The first section, "As Others See Them," describes the purposes and scope of the CRS research project and discusses CRS findings which run counter to several popular assumptions and "neo-stereotypes" about low income families. This section challenges the idea that only the poor can communicate with each other, the concept of a "culture of poverty" and some popular misconceptions about the Negro family. The second section, "As They See Themselves,"is organized major findings of the Child Rearing Study in six topical areas: "Making Ends Meet," "Growing Up Poor," "Getting Ahead," "In and Out of Wedlock," "The 'Good Man' and the 'No Good Man,'"and "The City of Hope and Destruction." The third section, "By the Grace of God," summarizes another set of popular misconceptions about the poor and contrasts them with CRS findings about low income families.

"Poverty's Children" was released in a press conference, February 16, 1966. The press conference and its impact will be assessed in a subsequent section, "Publicity for CROSS-TELL/CRS Materials." Between February and September, 1966 approximately 1,000 copies of "Poverty's Children" were distributed in mimeographed form. In September, 1966, when the document was printed in booklet form, CROSS-TELL sent the printed edition of "Poverty's Children" to the entire mailing list. CROSS-TELL and other groups used "Poverty's Children" widely throughout the project. Other agencies reproducing and distributing "Poverty's Children" include Yeshiva University's Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged (IRCD); the Public Information Office of the Bureau of Family Services, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and the VISTA program of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. A total of 24,100 copies of this publication were distributed in mimeographed and printed form (See Table 2). Utilization of "Poverty's Children" and other CROSS-TELL booklets for program purposes will be discussed later.

"Three Generations": CROSS-TELL's second booklet, "Three Generations. Case Materials in Low Income Living," was prepared by Camille Jeffers during the CRS project. Mrs. Jeffers wrote this paper as part of her participation in a conference on parent and family life programs with low income families, sponsored by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, December 2-4, 1964. The document pulls together CRS material on a single family where interview contacts spanned three generations.[1] Its purposes, as outlined by Mrs. Jeffers are:

> (1) to present case materials on a three generation family in a rather full fashion, and in the subject's own words, in order to illustrate our [CRS] references to variability in behavior and outlook; and
>
> (2) to suggest some of the implications of CRS findings in general, and of these case materials in particular, for parent and family life education.[2]

The case materials in "Three Generations" provide insight into the day-to-day demands of low income living and the relationship of these demands to the establishment of priorities in family living and child rearing.

"Three Generations" was published in booklet form and sent to persons on the CROSS-TELL mailing list, October, 1966. CROSS-TELL and IRCD at Yeshiva University each distributed 5,000 copies of this document, bringing the total number distributed to 10,000.

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[1] Washington, D. C.: CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of The National Capital Area, October, 1966. This booklet is among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 5.

[2] Washington, D. C.: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, December, 1964, 1

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF CROSS-TELL BOOKLETS DISTRIBUTED BY CROSS-TELL AND OTHER AGENCIES

Publication	Distributed by CROSS-TELL	Distributed by other agencies	Total
Poverty's Children	8,000	16,100	24,100
Three Generations	5,000	5,000	10,000
Telling It Like It Is!	5,000	5,000	10,000
Culture, Class and Poverty	6,000	5,000	11,000
Perspectives on Poverty	4,000	--	4,000
TOTAL	28,000	31,100	59,100

"Telling It Like It Is!": CROSS-TELL's third booklet, "Telling It Like It Is! A Dramatic Reading Based on the Words of the Poor" was published November, 1966.[1] This pamphlet was written by the CROSS-TELL director and includes the scripts of a dramatic reading program produced by CROSS-TELL at Cramton Auditorium, Howard University, September, 1966. The first script, "Quote Unquote: A Dialogue on Poverty" was arranged by actor Ossie Davis, who appeared in the CROSS-TELL program with his wife, Ruby Dee. Mr. Davis drew on poetry, autobiography and other writings to construct a dialogue on poverty between Man and Woman. The second script, "Telling It Like It Is!" prepared by the CROSS-TELL director, utilized CRS interview material, also cast in the roles of Man and Woman. A narrator and a lecturer gave background on the case materials and provided transition from one scene to another.

The "Telling It Like It Is!" pamphlet was sent to the CROSS-TELL mailing list, November, 1966. Together, CROSS-TELL and IRCD at Yeshiva University distributed 10,000 copies of this document. As a publication, "Telling It Like It Is!" is less versatile and more limited in appeal than the other CROSS-TELL documents. There was, however, interest in it as a vehicle for stimulating interest in poverty problems and communicating the ability of the poor to articulate their own situation. CROSS-TELL's own use of "Telling It Like It Is!" for this purpose is discussed in the section on "The Teaching Component." Utilization of this pamphlet by other groups for program purposes is discussed later.

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[1] This booklet is among the CROSS-TELL documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 6.

"Culture, Class and Poverty": CROSS-TELL's fourth booklet, published February, 1967 is a collection of three professional papers by Dr. Hylan Lewis, CRS director. All three papers utilize Child Rearing Study data and each discusses to some extent Dr. Lewis' concerns about some of the ways in which social science concepts such as "culture," "subculture" and "class" are currently used in popular discussion of poverty-related issues and in programming practical solutions to poverty problems. The first paper, "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia,"was originally presented to the National Conference on Social Welfare, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 16, 1961. It outlines the genesis and rationale for the Child Rearing Study and reports some of its major findings. The second paper, "Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low Income Families," was first delivered to a Conference on Lower Class Culture held in New York City, June 27-29, 1963. It was revised, August, 1965. This paper discusses CRS and other social science findings which raise serious questions about the validity of concepts of a separate "lower class culture" and a "culture of poverty." This paper also poses some of the dangers arising from lay application of these tentative social science theories to social welfare planning and practice. The third paper, "The Culture of Poverty Approach to Social Problems," is a critique of the "culture of poverty" approach to social problems. It was originally presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, August 29, 1964.

CROSS-TELL sent "Culture, Class and Poverty" to the entire mailing list in February, 1967 and distributed a total of 6,000 copies of this document during the remainder of the project. This booklet had a great deal of appeal to social work and sociology teachers as a classroom text and the demand for it continued long after the supply was exhausted. IRCD at Yeshiva also distributed 5,000 copies of this document.

"Perspectives on Poverty": CROSS-TELL's final booklet, "Perspectives on Poverty. A Workshop Summary and Study Manual,"reports selected proceedings of a CROSS-TELL workshop held April 24-25, 1967, and reprints a study manual of CRS materials prepared for the workshop by Anna Holden, CROSS-TELL assistant director, with the assistance of Jirina Polivka, research consultant.[1] The section of the document based on workshop proceedings includes the CROSS-TELL director's opening remarks, film clips and excerpts from a film, "The Tenement," shown at the workshop, and edited transcripts of three workshop discussion sessions utilizing different approaches and discussion techniques. The second half is a study manual organized around CRS propositions about poverty. The propositions are grouped in the six topical areas used as a basis for the CROSS-TELL Institute series and the Workshop discussion sessions: Child Development, Goals and Aspirations, Sex and Illegitimacy, Income and Management, The Low Income Male, and Urbanization and Discrimination.

This document was printed and distributed during the final phase of the project. Copies were sent to the entire mailing list.

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[1] Anna Holden and Luther Jackson (eds.), Washington, D. C.: CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, December, 1967

Other Publications

Realizing that it was important to maintain consistency of contact with persons on the mailing list, CROSS-TELL initiated a newsletter and occasionally sent other poverty-related items to the mailing list and persons in regular attendence at CROSS-TELL programs.

CROSS-TELL Newsletter: The CROSS-TELL newsletter, a simple multilith one to two-sheet publication, was published eight times during the life span of the project.[1] Six issues were prepared in 1966 and two in 1967. The newsletter went to the entire mailing list and additional copies of most issues were distributed for program purposes. Twenty-six thousand seven hundred copies of the newsletter were distributed during the project.

The CROSS-TELL newsletter -- which was called "CROSS-TELL" -- served several purposes. First of all, it provided the initial contact with the practitioners, policy-makers, academicians and others selected as the CROSS-TELL "audience." An editorial in the first issue, February, 1966, briefly explained the purposes of CRS and CROSS-TELL, the continuing need for studies, and the need to communicate research findings. CROSS-TELL sponsored programs were announced and reported in the newsletter, and the newsletter also noted conferences and meetings sponsored by other groups in which CROSS-TELL staff participated.

A third function of the newsletter was to inform readers of current books, articles and studies closely related to CROSS-TELL's concerns.

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[1] Copies of the following issues are among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report: March, 1966; April, 1966; and June, 1967. See Exhibit 7, CROSS-TELL Newsletters, News Releases and Other Publicity, (a)-(c)

The first issue of the CROSS-TELL newsletter featured a critical comment on the controversial "Moynihan Report," pointing up ways in which concepts of Negro family life in the "Moynihan Report" differed from CRS views. Subsequent issues of the newsletter reviewed and digested other current reports and papers. Two particularly successful ventures in this area should be noted.

The December, 1966 issue of CROSS-TELL summarized findings from a study of the relocation of low income families displaced by Washington's Southwest urban renewal program. The study, "Where Are They Now?" by Daniel H. Thursz, was sponsored by HWC and reports a follow-up survey of persons displaced by the Southwest renewal project who were also assisted by a special HWC demonstration project.[1] CROSS-TELL's publication of this report helped stimulate interest in the study, both inside and outside of Washington. The *Journal of Housing* reviewed "Where Are They Now?" in its April, 1967 issue, listing CROSS-TELL as the distributor of this report.[2] As a result of this review, CROSS-TELL received requests for "Where are They Now?" from universities and housing, city planning, urban renewal, and human relations organizations all over the country. Although the report is now out of print, the CROSS-TELL office continues to receive requests from social science and social work teachers and students and from social agency personnel.

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[1] Washington, D. C.: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, November, 1966.

[2] No. 3, 1967, 175-176

Similarly, the last issue of CROSS-TELL, June, 1967, digested a paper by sociologist Herbert J.Gans, "Poverty and Culture: Some Basic Questions About Methods of Studying Life-Styles of the Poor." Gans' paper was prepared for an International Seminar on Poverty held at the University of Essex, April 3-6, 1967 and notes the author's indebtedness to the work of Hylan Lewis, especially Lewis' paper "Culture, Class and the Behavior of Low Income Families," published by CROSS-TELL in "Culture, Class and Poverty." The CROSS-TELL newsletter announced the availability of copies of the Gans paper to its readers. Approximately 300 copies of the Gans paper were distributed to professional and student sociologists and social workers and research and social agency personnel. Among the agencies and organizations in Washington requesting the Gans paper are: Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children; Division of Research, Welfare Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies; Upjohn Institute; Child Health Center, Children's Hospital; Fairfax Community Action, Inc., Falls Church, Virginia; and *The Journal of Negro Education.* Requests from outside the D. C. Metropolitan area came from agencies and institutuions such as the Community Council of the Atlanta Area; Columbia University School of Social Work; University of Toledo, Law and Poverty Project; Yale University Law School; and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Publication of two books resulting from the CRS study was also announced in the CROSS-TELL newsletter. The March, 1967 newsletter carried a report of the publication of Camille Jeffers' *Living Poor. A Participant Observer Study of Choices and Priorities* by Ann Arbor Publishers, Ann Arbor, Michigan. This report summarizes Mrs. Jeffers' experience in living in a low income housing project as part of the CRS research. The June, 1967 CROSS-TELL noted publication of Elliot Liebow's CRS research, *Tally's Corner. A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men* by Little, Brown and Company.

CROSS-TELL Reprints: In addition to the Herbert Gans paper discussed above, CROSS-TELL also reprinted "Men and Jobs," a chapter from Elliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner* manuscript.[1] Three hundred copies of "Men and Jobs" were reprinted in March, 1967, prior to publication of the entire *Tally's Corner* study. Two-thirds of the "Men and Jobs" reprints were sent to CROSS-TELL Institute enrollees to prepare for the March 28 Institute session where Dr. Liebow spoke and led a discussion on "The Low Income Male." Approximately 100 copies were sent to CROSS-TELL Workshop enrollees in advance of the Workshop held April 24-25, 1967. Dr. Liebow's report was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Department of Anthropology, Catholic University, April, 1966. CROSS-TELL reprinted the "Men and Jobs" chapter as it appeared in his doctoral dissertation.

CROSS-TELL also reprinted and circulated a *New York Times* article of December 19, 1966, "Life on Welfare: A Daily Struggle for Existence." This three-page article was sent to the entire mailing list, and additional copies were distributed to persons requesting CROSS-TELL materials for use in courses, program planning, workshops and training sessions. A total of 3,000 copies of this reprint were distributed.

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[1] A copy of this reprint is among the CROSS-TELL documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 8.

Other CROSS-TELL Documents: Prior to the publication of *Living Poor* in 1967, CROSS-TELL prepared a 22-page summary of the book which was distributed in mimeograph form.[1] Approximately 200 copies of this summary, prepared by CROSS-TELL's director, were given out in response to requests for CRS materials, particularly to persons who expressed an interest in life in public housing or the *Living Poor* study.

Publication Design: CROSS-TELL sought to "package" its products in such a way that they would catch the eye of busy people inundated by memoranda, books, pamphlets and reports. It was felt that publications should be superior in appearance as well as content, if CROSS-TELL were to effectively reach a saturated market.

Visually, CROSS-TELL strove for an image that was distinctive and dignified without being dull. The type faces chosen for printed and typewritten documents were free of typographical frills. CROSS-TELL also used subtle design innovations, such as the narrow shape of most of its booklets. The narrow shaped booklet has the practical advantage of fitting into a man's inner jacket pocket. The project also stressed unity of design. Similar type faces, format and "packaging" were used for booklets, the newsletter reprints and bulk mimeographed materials.

In illustrating publications, CROSS-TELL rejected photographs and drawings that show the stereotyped faces of poverty -- the haggard, tousel-haired parent, the disheveled begrimed child. The cover of "Poverty's Children," for example, shows a young, attractive girl whose poverty is subtly suggested by her surroundings. The girl's face emerges from behind a coarsely painted door with a row of dilapidated frame houses in the background. This and other CROSS-TELL illustrations indicate that the lives of poor people are so diverse that they need not always *look* poor. CROSS-TELL also used photographs and drawings sparingly, primarily for covers.

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[1] Copies of this document are among the CROSS-TELL publications submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 9.

In sum, the CROSS-TELL design approach was based on the idea that scholars should use modern communication methods to extend their knowledge to ever-widening audiences. CROSS-TELL shared the Madison Avenue view that audiences often tend to accept or reject an item on the basis of how it looks and strove to *look* good.

Publicity for CROSS-TELL/CRS Materials

CROSS-TELL Booklets: As mentioned earlier, CROSS-TELL's first booklet "Poverty's Children" was released in a press conference February 16, 1966.[1] The release was timed for the Sunday, February 20 edition of the daily papers and the semi-weekly edition of the *Washington Afro-American.*

By almost any public relations yardstick, the "Poverty's Children" announcement was highly successful. The story made page one of both *The Washington Post* and *The Sunday Star,* February 20. The *Star* reprinted a half-page extract from the section of the pamphlet about urbanization and discrimination, "The City of Hope and Destruction."[1] *The New York Times* story ran for 20 paragraphs in its first news sections.[2] *The Afro-American* story was prominently displayed on the first page of the feature section[3] and two Washington TV stations, WRC and WMAL, also covered the story. A clipping from *The San Francisco Chronicle,* mailed to CROSS-TELL from California, suggests that other newspapers outside the Washington, D. C. area picked up *The New York Times* coverage. The *Chronicle* story extracted nine paragraphs from *The New York Times* report.

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[1] A copy of the "Poverty's Children" press release is among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (d)

The first issue of the CROSS-TELL newsletter, released simultaneously with "Poverty's Children," criticized the controversial Moynihan report, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* by Daniel P. Moynihan, and quoted CRS data at variance with Moynihan's views on the Negro family. The press tended to interpret "Poverty's Children" as a refutation of the Moynihan report and also highlighted portions of the "Poverty's Children" document and the accompanying press release which were critical of the "condensation and contempt" of many professionals in "dealing" with the poor. *The New York Times*, especially, stressed the pamphlet's criticisms of social workers, heading its article "Social Workers Scored in Report."[4]

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[1] C-3.

[2] A copy of this story is among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (e)

[3] March 5, 1966, 13

[4] February 20, 1966, 1

The Washington Post interpreted "Poverty's Children" comments affirming the ability of middle class CRS workers to relate to the poor without the help of "indigenous" workers as a "mild swipe at the use of indigenous workers in the local poverty war." The *Post* also saw the "Poverty's Children" report as "an attempt to reassert the traditional central role of professional social workers and social scientists in combatting poverty" and "a reasserting by the Health and Welfare Council of its past role as the central anti-poverty agency in the community."[1] Although newspaper coverage emphasized the controversial aspects of the report and accompanying press release, CROSS-TELL received a total of 605 letters and telephone calls from persons requesting "Poverty's Children" between February and May of 1966.

One of the primary purposes of the press conference was to introduce CROSS-TELL and its program to the public. The CROSS-TELL director felt that "Poverty's Children" accomplished this goal and was uneasy about the price paid for publicity -- introducing critical references to the Moynihan report and stressing CROSS-TELL's differences with popular War on Poverty approaches. Subsequent publications were not announced to the press through a press release and press conference. Reporters on the "courtesy" mailing list continued to receive CROSS-TELL mailings, including booklets, and those mailings resulted in one newspaper article on each of two booklets published later in the project. *The Washington*

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[1] February 20, 1966, A1, A6

Daily News published a story on the Burke family, drawn from "Three Generations," October 12, 1966,[1] and *The Washington Post* summarized the major conclusions of "Culture, Class and Poverty" in an article, February 27, 1967.[2]

Publicity for Other CRS Materials: Prior to the actual publication of Camille Jeffers' *Living Poor*, CROSS-TELL interested *The Washington Post's* Sunday Magazine *Potomac* in publishing excerpts from Mrs. Jeffers' account of her experience in living in a D. C. public housing development. *Potomac* magazine printed extracted material from Mrs. Jeffers' manuscript, April 23, 1967 under the tile, "Life in Public Housing."[3]

Potomac magazine subsequently published the "Men and Jobs" chapter from Elliot Liebow's manuscript *Tally's Corner. A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men.*[4]

Both these articles activated interest in the CRS materials and provided additional resources for CROSS-TELL.

Following the publication of *Living Poor*, CROSS-TELL distributed flyers containing a brief description of the book and information for ordering the book.[5]

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[1] 70. Copies of this clipping are among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (f)

[2] 3. Copies of this clipping are among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (g)

[3] 30-32, 34 ff.

[4] "Men and Jobs on Tally's Corner," June 25, 1967, 28-30, 32 ff.

[5] This flyer is included in the exhibits submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (h)

The Teaching Component

Development of the CROSS-TELL teaching program involved (1) selecting and adapting CRS materials to be taught; (2) developing a meeting format; and (3), most importantly, selecting and preparing discussion leaders to teach the materials. While the publication program went pretty much as planned, the teaching program -- particularly the CROSS-TELL Institutes -- did not. This section of the report will discuss adaptations in the teaching program, as well as accomplishments.

Roundtable Discussions

In preparing for the teaching phase of the project, CROSS-TELL conducted a series of Roundtable discussions to which selected policy-makers, practitioners from public and private agencies, teachers in local schools of social work and neighborhood anti-poverty workers were invited. These discussions took place in the CROSS-TELL office in April and May of 1966. The purpose of these preliminary discussions was to determine how CRS data related to community concerns about the poor and to solicit the cooperation of discussants in developing the teaching program.

The first Roundtables, held April 25-26, focused on CRS material presented in the document "Poverty's Children." On May 9, workers in settlement house programs in various parts of the city briefed CROSS-TELL staff members on concerns of low income families. The May 23 Roundtable, attended by D. C. Recreation Department aides, centered on the problems of school dropouts.

Participants offered useful suggestions about teaching CRS materials and some of the Roundtable discussants later served as resource persons for the CROSS-TELL Institutes.

Dramatic Presentation

On September 29, 1966, CROSS-TELL sponsored a dramatic program "Telling It Like It Is!" at Cramton Auditorium, Howard University. The program featured actor Ossie Davis and his wife, Ruby Dee, and was attended by 1,000 persons. The purpose of the program was twofold: (1) to stimulate attendance at the CROSS-TELL Institutes, which were announced and promoted at the dramatic program· and (2) to demonstrate, for its own communication value, an innovation in the presentation of research materials.

The idea for "Telling It Like It Is!" came from a televised documentary written by the actor Ossie Davis. The documentary consisted of a series of episodes in Negro history in which Mr. Davis and his actress wife, Ruby Dee, assumed the role of Negro slaves. The CROSS-TELL director, searching for a unique way of communicating research, thought of having Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee speak as the poor, communicating the exact words of low income persons as told to CRS workers.

To focus audience attention on the words of the poor, the production was simply staged. There were no costumes or props. All male roles were assumed by Mr. Davis and all female roles by Miss Dee. Two narrators were used to make topical references and to provide dramatic counterpoint for the principals. The actors and narrators read from music stands placed upstage in front of a drawn curtain.

The production attempted to dramatize several CRS propositions: the diversity of life styles among low income families, the contrasts between parents' desires and their ability to help themselves and their children, parents' aspirations for a "middle class" way of life, and some of their problems in attempting to achieve these goals.

The "Telling It Like It Is!" program opened with "Quote Unquote: A Dialogue on Poverty" arranged by Ossie Davis. Mr. Davis and Miss Dee, cast in the roles of Man and Woman, engaged in an interchange on the nature of poverty and organized charity and the timeless problems of being poor, as depicted in poetry, autobiography and historical manuscripts.

The dramatic script "Telling It Like It Is!" which followed was based on CRS case and field materials. Mr. Davis and Miss Dee again portrayed Man and Woman, this time in dialogues constructed from interview records. The first scene depicts an alcoholic mother, who knows what is right for her children, but is incapable of doing right by them. The second scene contains several episodes which show how low income men are forced into a streetcorner world of illusion because they have not been able to meet the society's standards for husbands and fathers. The third scene shows a stable, two-parent family, whose high goals are continually frustrated by a lack of money.

CROSS-TELL Institutes were announced at the dramatic presentation and coupons for enrolling in the Institutes were distributed to the audience. The *Washington Afro-American* and *The HWC Newsletter* covered the presentation.[1] The lengthy *HWC Newsletter* report on the program included an announcement of the CROSS-TELL Institute series, with full information about registration and the Institute schedule.

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[1] *Washington Afro-American*, September 24, 1966, 13; *The HWC Newsletter*, November, 1966, 4-5. Copies of the HWC Newsletter are among the materials submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (i)

The "Telling It Like It Is!" audience included a number of persons CROSS-TELL hoped to involve in its teaching programs -- social workers in the D. C. Department of Public Welfare and private agencies, staff of the VISTA Training Center at the University of Maryland, public school teachers, settlement house workers, and community organizers and social work aides in anti-poverty centers. Others present were members of the League of Women Voter's Unemployment Committee; representatives of the Home Study Program, a Maryland volunteer tutorial project; faculty and students from Universities in the area; staff of local social agencies and institutions, such as the National Capital Housing Authority, Boy's Village of Maryland, Cedar Knoll School, Children's Hospital, D. C. General Hospital and the Planned Parenthood Association; and staff of National agencies and organizations, such as the Office of Economic Opportunity, the National Teachers' Corps, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the National Education Association.

As noted earlier, the script for "Telling It Like It Is!" was published November, 1966 as CROSS-TELL's third booklet. Other use of the script as a dramatic and educational vehicle will be discussed in the next chapter.

CROSS-TELL Institutes

The purpose of the Institutes, as well as the other teaching programs, was to give practitioners and policy-makers a chance to become acquainted with and react to CRS propositions and case materials. Optimally, at the close of the Institutes enrollees would have fresh insights into the lives of the poor. These insights, it was thought, should help change their attitudes, and, hopefully, their behavior toward the people they attempt to serve.

The Institutes were designed as formal learning periods, not just another meeting. Study materials were generally sent out prior to the sessions, as homework for the classes.

Meeting Format and Audiences: As mentioned earlier, the director's preparation of "Poverty's Children" established a rationale for the teaching program. The booklet's six subject areas -- Child Development, Goals and Aspirations, Sex and Illegitimacy, Income and Management, The Low Income Male, and Urbanization and Discrimination -- were also used to organize Institute meetings and study materials. Institutes were planned around these topical areas, with one meeting devoted to each topic or "cycle." Initially, separate Institute sessions were scheduled for each of CROSS-TELL's three "target" groups: (1) the HWC Conference groups and committees, (2) social workers, and (3) public school teachers.

The HWC Institute sessions were planned for the professional and volunteer staffs of the Health and Welfare Council and its member agencies. These sessions were held at night in the Washington Gaslight Auditorium in downtown Washington. This Institute was to emphasize the implications of CRS findings for policies and practices of private social welfare, health, and recreation agencies affiliated with the Health and Welfare Council.

The Social Worker Institute sessions were designed primarily for practitioners and supervisors in the D. C. Department of Public Welfare and private family service agencies and settlement houses in the D. C.

Metropolitan area. These Institute sessions were to deal with the implications of CRS materials for social work practice and policy. The first meeting of the Social Work Institute was held in a small auditorium at Howard University, but the auditorium was not suitable for give-and-take discussions and the meeting place was changed to a meeting room in the downtown YMCA, where participants could be seated in a semi-circle. All sessions of the Social Worker Institute were scheduled at night.

CROSS-TELL selected a single D. C. high school, Dunbar, and all elementary and junior high schools that feed into Dunbar as the point of focus for the Teacher Institute program. Dunbar and its feeder schools were chosen because of the poverty-ridden neighborhood they serve. Terrell Junior High School became the meeting place for teachers in the Dunbar district, and all sessions of the Teacher Institutes were held at 3:30 in the afternoon at Terrell Junior High School.

Institute Study Materials: "Poverty's Children" and "Three Generations" were distributed to Institute enrollees at the beginning of the Institute series to give participants an overview of the CRS findings and a comprehensive picture of the problems of one particular family. It was felt, however, that more case materials should be made available. To meet this need, CROSS-TELL compiled a collection of case materials from six families CRS studied intensively. These families, as a group, demonstrate the diversity of life styles CRS found among low income families.

The six families selcted include: (1) a spinster, Miss Grady, whose rearing of 20 nephews and nieces -- the victims of a number of family tragedies -- had not dimmed her optimistic outlook on life; (2) a middle-aged couple, the Burkes, parents of nine children, who are together despite the husband's drinking, his inadequacy as a wage earner, and the family's unending struggle for food, clothing and shelter; (3) a young couple, the Redmonds, whose early marital and financial setbacks have not deterred them from setting high goals for themselves and their six children; (4) an alcoholic mother, Mrs. Usher, whose "middle class" concepts of a mother's role are contradicted by her own failures in caring for her six children; (5) a painter and his wife, the Kenneth Dalys, who, with their six children, demonstrate the tensions and hardships caused by temporary unemployment; and (6) the Frank Dalys, whose marriage is jeopardized by the wife's insecurity, the husband's marginal income, and his sex infidelity.[1]

CROSS-TELL extracted quotations from CRS interviews with these families which support and illustrate CRS propositions. Looseleaf notebooks featuring these family case materials were prepared for each of the Institute enrollees.[2] The notebooks contain: (1) several CRS propositions relevant to each of the topical cycles used in the teaching program; (2) a family "face sheet" for each of the six families with data on income, education and family composition; (3) a summary or narrative, which gives a relatively brief history of each of the families; and (4) "quoted responses" from the families grouped in the six topical cycles. The notebook section on Goals and Aspirations, for example, includes a quote from young Mrs. Redmond which illustrates her determination to own a house of her own:

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[1] Names of all families are fictitious to protect their anonymity.

[2] The CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook is among the exhibits submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 3.

> *My parents don't try to help, either. They think it would be fine if we got into a housing project and think we should be satisfied with that...I want a home of my own, with a basement and I'm going to get it. I am going to save what I make and maybe I will have a down payment by the end of the year.*[1]

Notebook materials on each "cycle" were sent to enrollees in advance of the Institute sessions. In addition to their use in the Institute program, about 100 CROSS-TELL Institute notebooks were given to persons planning workshops and conferences, or using family case materials for other purposes. The case materials and CRS propositions from the notebook were also distributed separately.

Institute participants were also given copies of the CROSS-TELL reprint "Men and Jobs." This reprint was sent in advance of the Institute on "The Low Income Male."

Implementing the Institute Program: The first CROSS-TELL Institutes were held October 6, 11 and 13, 1966. The Teacher Institute took place first, on the afternoon of October 6; the HWC and Social Worker Institutes were held on the evenings of October 11 and 13, respectively. Child Development was the topic for the first Institute sessions.

CROSS-TELL had planned to utilize social work teachers, public school personnel, and other practitioners and community leaders invited to the

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[1] IIA-5

Roundtables as discussion leaders for the Institutes, but this plan was not followed. Instead the CROSS-TELL director delivered a formal statement in which he set forth CRS propositions followed by examples from focal families. Discussants then reacted to the director's statement in light of their own experience, and the floor was thrown open to a general discussion of the issues raised by the director and the discussants.[1]

This format was followed at the first CROSS-TELL Institutes on Child Development in October and at the second Institutes on Goals and Aspirations, held November 11, 15 and 22, 1966.

Most of the enrollees were practitioners whose interest was social action. Some had envisioned the meetings, as one enrollee put it, as an opportunity to "really get at issues and come up with solutions for the Washington area." There was a pervasive feeling among audiences that *now* is the time to "do something" about poverty. Invariably, the discussions went far afield from CRS materials. Many of the practitioners were not prepared to discuss CRS materials because they had not received the materials before the meeting or had not read them.

A telephone survey of 24 enrollees who participated in the first two Institute "cycles" led to a revision of the Institue format. All but four replied positively to the value of the Institutes. The social Worker and HWC Institutes seemed more rewarding to the participants, possibly because the late afternoon scheduling of the Teacher Institute gave these enrollees no respite from their jobs. But the telephone survey indicated that many of the enrollees preferred to have the CRS materials interpreted by the original investigators themselves, or by members of the poor families under discussion.

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[1] See Appendix III, "No Food In the House," the statement made by the CROSS-TELL director at the HWC Institute, October 6, 1966.

The net result of the survey was a change in the Institute program. Speakers other than the CROSS-TELL director were called upon to make a presentation and lead discussions. Mrs. Patricia Garland, director of the Division of Child and Family Welfare, Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, New York City, spoke at Institute sessions on Sex and Illegitimacy, January 24, 1967. Mrs. Garland led the Teacher Institute at Terrell on the afternoon of January 24 and spoke to a combined meeting of the HWC and Social Worker Institutes that evening. The fourth and final session of the CROSS-TELL Institutes was held March 28 in the HWC Building. Elliot Liebow, CRS field investigator and author of *Tally's Corner*, made a brief presentation and led a discussion on The Low Income Male. Enrollees from the Teacher, Social Worker and HWC Institutes were invited to this meeting. The fact that Dr. Liebow spoke from his own experience helped give this meeting a sense of authenticity and an enthusiasm that may have been missing from some of the earlier sessions.

Although the last Institute session was well attended and drew the most enthusiastic response, CROSS-TELL concluded that (1) the structure of the Institutes did not facilitate an intensive learning experience, and (2) two-hour meetings widely spaced in time were not effective. Having reached this decision, CROSS-TELL curtailed its Institute program.

Institute Attendance: A total of 267 persons attended at least one session of the CROSS-TELL Institutes.

One hundred and three persons attended the Teacher Institute meetings, half of these teachers from Title I schools in the District -- schools designated for poverty assistance under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Nearly one-third of the participants in the Teacher Institute were social workers and other agency personnel who preferred the afternoon timing.

Seventy-five persons attended at least one session of the HWC Institute. Although this Institute was set up for HWC board, personnel and committee members, public school teachers, and persons affiliated with public health and mental health and other government agencies attended.

A total of 74 persons went to one or more sessions of the Social Worker Institute. The largest group of participants in this Institute were staff of public welfare agencies. Anti-poverty workers and public school teachers also attended the Social Worker Institute.

Fifteen persons who did not participate in earlier Institutes attended the combined meeting of the Institute on The Low Income Male, March 28, 1967.

CROSS-TELL Workshop

After discontinuing the Institute program, CROSS-TELL decided to experiment with a more intensive method of learning, a Workshop involving participants in discussions for two full, consecutive days. The Workshop, held April 24-25, 1967, was structured to provide the opportunity for face-to-face interaction and in-depth discussion that was lacking in the Institute program. The Workshop was also an effort to find out what the CRS materials suggested in terms of changing agency policies and practices.

Participation: Workshop invitations were sent to selected persons from the same groups CROSS-TELL had approached in recruiting for the Institutes -- the D. C. public schools, settlement houses and family service agencies, civic and religious organizations, anti-poverty neighborhood workers, and students and staff in local schools of social work. Quotas were set for participation from some groups, such as public school teachers, so that there would be a cross-section from different fields in attendance.

The Workshop was planned for 60 persons, but 80 registered the first day and an additional 17, the second day (See Table 3). About one-third of the enrollees were staff and volunteers in social welfare agencies. Attendance averaged 80 persons on each of the two days. The last session was almost as well attended as the first. A complete list of participants with their affiliation is found in the CROSS-TELL booklet, "Perspectives on Poverty," based on Workshop proceedings.[1]

Study Materials: Most of the Workshop participants enrolled in advance and were mailed a packet of CROSS-TELL/CRS documents to read in preparation for the Workshop. The packet included the first four CROSS-TELL booklets, an advance edition of Camille Jeffers' *Living Poor*, obtained from Ann Arbor Publishers, and the "Men and Jobs" chapter of Elliot Liebow's book, *Tally's Corner.* As participants registered for the Workshop they were give a 119-page study manual, "Perspectives on Poverty," which outlined CRS propositions and study material.[1]

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[1] 46-48

A count made in registering participants indicates that, prior to the Workshop, enrollees had read an average of three CROSS-TELL documents and had attended at least one of the CROSS-TELL Institutes sessions.

Workshop Program and Staff: Most of the two days of the Workshop was spent in group discussion. Participants were divided into three working groups, and by rotating discussion leaders, each group covered the six topical cycles used as the basis for organizing all of CROSS-TELL's teaching programs: Child Development, Goals and Aspirations, Sex and Illegitimacy, Income and Management, The Low Income Male, and Urbanization and Discrimination. There were three discussion leaders who each had responsibility for teaching two subject areas.

Mrs. Patricia Garland, who spoke at the January CROSS-TELL Institute on Sex and Illegitimacy, led Workshop sessions on Sex and Illegitimacy and The Low Income Male. Charles H. King, former director of the New York Wiltwyck School for Boys, and current director of HARYOU-ACT in Harlem, led discussions on Income and Management and Urbanization and Discrimination. The third discussion leader was Mrs. Phenola Carroll, a member of the CRS staff and a social worker with experience in New York and Baltimore.

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[1] This manual is reproduced in the second part of the CROSS-TELL booklet "Perspectives on Poverty," submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 4.

TABLE 3. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF PERSONS ATTENDING CROSS-TELL WORKSHOP, APRIL 24-25, 1967

Affiliation	Number
Colleges and universities	12
D. C. public schools	24
Other educational organizations	1
Social welfare agencies and organizations	35
Health and housing agencies	6
Anti-poverty action and training programs	6
Churches and religious bodies	4
Recreational organizations and agencies	5
Other government agencies	3
Private citizens	1
TOTAL	97

Mrs. Carroll was assisted by the CROSS-TELL assistant director, Anna Holden. Mrs. Jirina Polivka, CROSS-TELL consultant, acted as a resource person in Mrs. Garland's sessions.

The Workshop opened with introductory remarks by the CROSS-TELL director and the showing of a film, "The Tenement," a CBS documentary about ghetto life in South Side Chicago.

Workshop discussion leaders used different approaches in presenting and discussing CRS materials. In the Child Development sessions, for example, small "buzz" groups were given brief case materials and a family problem situation drawn from the CRS case records. Each of the family problem situations discussed in a "buzz" group illustrated a CRS proposition on Child Development. Role playing situations based on CRS case records were acted out by Workshop participants in the sessions on Goals and Aspirations. The role playing situations illustrated low income families' problems in achieving better housing and a good education for their children. Posters summarizing CRS propositions were displayed during Workshop sessions.[1]

At the closing session of the Workshop, program and policy recommendations made throughout the two days were summarized by Mrs. Carroll. Mrs. Garland and Mr. King summarized the highlights of discussions they led.

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[1] See "Perspectives on Poverty" for selected proceedings of the CROSS-TELL Workshop, including edited reports of the sessions on Child Development, Goals and Aspirations and Income and Management.

The Workshop was one of the high points of the CROSS-TELL project, from the standpoint of enthusiasm on the part of participants and staff satisfaction with the way in which CRS materials were utilized to stimulate empathy, concern and discussion about solutions to problems facing low income families. For example, after a role playing session in which Workshop participants wrestled with problems facing the Daly family the man who portrayed Ken Daly, a temporarily unemployed painter, stated:

> I was trying to identify with the person from within, and it seemed to me that I was already a failure when I sat down. The wife was talking to the kids like I wasn't in the room like I was an object, but I was there, and subjected to this kind of humiliation. If anybody else came into the picture, I'd look upon them as someone who simply did the same thing and [made] me feel more of a failure....
>
> So how does somebody help this man to where he doesn't react to every single confrontation and expect[s] to be heard from and [is not] expected to be a failure again. How [does] he get out of this cycle of failure? The more I felt with it, the more I wanted to get out of this house and get over to somebody with a little more sensitivity.[1]

Other CROSS-TELL Activities

Cooperative Activities: In addition to conducting its own educational program, CROSS-TELL also assisted with and participated in Workshops, Staff Training Sessions and Conferences sponsored by other organizations. For example, the director presented a paper, "Communicating Research on the Poor" to a conference of The American Association for Public Opinion

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[1] "Perspectives on Poverty," 31.

Research-World Association for Public Opinion, Swampscott, Massachusetts, May 5, 1966.[1] Locally, CROSS-TELL staff presented and led discussions of CRS findings at meetings of the Alexandria, Virginia Community Welfare Council; the Urban League Neighborhood Development Center; a seminar on "Today's Youth," sponsored by the Metropolitan Women's Democratic Club; a class in Child Welfare at the Catholic University School of Social Service; and a training session for enrollees in the New Careers Training Program. A complete list of CROSS-TELL's participation in meetings and conferences sponsored by other groups is found in Appendix IV.

Distribution of Other CRS Material: Throughout the project, numerous requests for CRS reports and papers were referred to CROSS-TELL for reply. Social science teachers and researchers, especially, were interested in papers and reports beyond those published by CROSS-TELL in booklet form. Several hundred copies each of several CRS papers were available from the original study and were distributed by CROSS-TELL. For example, the mimeographed edition of Dr. Lewis' "Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia,"[2] published in CROSS-TELL's "Culture, Class and Poverty," was distributed as a substitute for the booklet after CROSS-TELL's supply of "Culture, Class and Poverty" was exhausted.

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[1] This paper is among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 10.

[2] National Conference on Social Welfare, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 16, 1961.

The Lewis-Herzog paper, "Priorities in Research about Unmarried Mothers" was given to groups and individuals particularly interested in the problems of unwed mothers.[1] Other CRS papers which CROSS-TELL circulated in quantity include : (1) Elizabeth H. Ross, "Comments on [Lewis] 'Child Rearing Practices Among Low Income Families in the District of Columbia,'" National Conference on Social Welfare, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 16, 1961 (2) Hylan Lewis, "Comments on [Gladwin] 'Poverty: An Anthropologist's View,'" National Conference on Social Welfare, Minneapolis, May 17, 1961; and (3) Hylan Lewis, "Discussion of [Yarrow] 'Problems of Methods in Family Studies,'" National Conference on Social Welfare, New York City, May 29, 1962.

Smaller numbers of other CRS papers, such as Lewis' "Syndromes of Contemporary Urban Poverty," were distributed in single copies, particularly to libraries, researchers and social work-social science faculty.[2] CRS staff working papers which were not generally circulated were made available on occasion to writers, students and scholars with particular interest in topics or geographic sections of the city studied by the CRS project.

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[1] Elizabeth Herzog and Hylan Lewis, Eastern Regional Conference, Child Welfare League of America, New York City, April, 1961.

[2] American Psychiatric Association, Regional Research Conference on "Poverty and Mental Health," Boston State Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, April 22-23, 1966.

A CROSS-TELL BALANCE SHEET

...The material your group is getting out and disseminating is among the most valuable in conveying information and feeling tones about how the poor live.[1]

The booklet, "Poverty's Children," describes the Child Rearing Study as "an attempt to get behind closed doors; to see poor families as they see themselves." In communicating CRS points of view, CROSS-TELL attempted to use research materials to attack myths and stereotypes, to change attitudes -- to open minds or "doors" that are closed, half-closed or only slightly ajar. This section discusses the extent of CROSS-TELL's reach and the way in which CROSS-TELL's booklets and other resources were utilized in the process of opening doors that block communication of knowledge. Finally it presents a subjective evaluation of CROSS-TELL's effort to communicate CRS findings and the implications of the CROSS-TELL experiment for those interested in communicating social science research.

CROSS-TELL's Reach

The last chapter of this report described the 2,000 practitioners, community leaders, administrators and academicians CROSS-TELL selected as its initial "audience." Records of participation in CROSS-TELL programs indicate that a sizeable number of this group attended the "Telling It Like It Is!" dramatic presentation, while only a small proportion participated in subsequent Institutes and the Workshop sessions.

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[1] Letter from a university sociology teacher, July 31, 1967

CROSS-TELL's communication effort was, however, a two-way street. In addition to those CROSS-TELL attempted to reach, there were a number of people who contacted the project for booklets, speakers, and participation in CROSS-TELL activities, and to extend invitations to CROSS-TELL to take part in their activities.

Telephone Log: Throughout the project CROSS-TELL maintained a log of incoming telephone calls. This log provides the best record of persons in the local community in contact with CROSS-TELL. A preliminary analysis of telephone calls during the first year of operation showed that 92 percent of the calls received by CROSS-TELL originated in the D. C. Metropolitan area.[1]

From February 9, 1966, when CROSS-TELL began keeping a telephone log, through June 30, 1967, CROSS-TELL received a total of 908 calls -- an average of 53 calls per month.[2] The number of calls varied a great deal from month to month, with the largest number of calls coming into the office in February (142) and March (106) of 1966, when "Poverty's Children" was released to the press· in October of 1966 (83), when the

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[1] Charlotte Carbonnell, "An Interim Report on the Demand for CROSS-TELL Publications, February through September 21, 1966," Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., December 28, 1966, 4.

[2] This analysis is limited to program-related calls; calls pertaining to meeting arrangements, printing, hiring of staff, ordering of supplies, etc. are excluded.

Institute program was launched: and in April of 1967 (76), when Workshop registration was in force. Over one-fourth (28 percent) of all the calls received in the period analyzed came into the office in February and March of 1966.

Analysis of the incoming calls by the organizational affiliation of the caller shows a great deal of spread in the kinds of agencies and institutions in contact with CROSS-TELL (See Table 4). Staff and students in colleges and universities, and persons affiliated with social welfare agencies contacted CROSS-TELL more frequently than other groups. Staff of anti-poverty training and action programs contacted CROSS-TELL next most frequently. This category includes poverty training centers based in universities and colleges, such as the VISTA training program at the University of Maryland, and OEO funded Neighborhood Development Centers operated by established social welfare agencies and settlement houses.

Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of the university calls came from staff. The largest number of calls from university-based persons came from schools of social work (40 percent). CROSS-TELL sought and maintained a good deal of contact with the Howard University School of Social Work throughout the project.

Over half the calls from social welfare agencies were from private agencies "financially participating" in the Health and Welfare Council -- recipients of United Givers Fund monies allocated by HWC. One-third (34 percent) of the calls from social welfare organizations were from public agencies, with staff of District and state public agencies in the Metropolitan area calling more frequently than staff of Federal agencies.

TABLE 4. PROGRAM-RELATED CALLS RECEIVED BY CROSS-TELL FEBRUARY 9, 1966-JUNE 30, 1967 BY ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF CALLER

Organizational Affiliation	Number	Percent
Colleges and universities	141	16
Public schools	62	7
Other educational organizations	21	2
Social welfare agencies	147	16
Health agencies	41	5
Mental health agencies	28	3
Housing agencies	19	2
Anti-poverty action and training programs	96	11
Research institutes, projects, programs	68	7
Employment and labor organizations	35	4
Communications media	45	5
Churches and religious bodies	20	2
Civil rights and human relations agencies	25	3
Recreational organizations and agencies	13	1
Other private organizations	31	3
Other government agencies	42	5
Agency affiliation not ascertained	2	--
Private citizens (No affiliation given)	72	8
TOTAL	908	100

Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of the calls from anti-poverty training and action programs were from UPO staff and community programs funded by UPO, including Neighborhood Development Centers in D. C. and in Montgomery County, Maryland. One-fourth (26 percent) of the anti-poverty calls came from OEO and other Federal agencies administering OEO programs.

Nearly half (47 percent) of the calls from public school sources came from administrative personnel and special programs and projects such as Pupil Personnel Services and the Urban Service Corps. About one-third (34 percent) of the calls from public school personnel were placed by staff in schools receiving Title I aid -- schools qualified to receive Federal poverty funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Correspondence: Between December, 1965 and June 30, 1967, CROSS-TELL received 920 pieces of program-related correspondence. This count includes requests for documents and changes of address: it excludes arrangements for meeting places, printing and resource persons.

In the first 20 months of the project's life, CROSS-TELL received an average of 46 pieces of correspondence per month. The most mail came into the office in February (159) and March (127) of 1966, when "Poverty's Children" was released and publicized, and in June, 1967 (82) when the CROSS-TELL newsletter offered reprints of a paper by Herbert Gans. Nearly one-third (31 percent) of all correspondence received during this period came into the office in February and March of 1966.

The content of most of the correspondence -- 80 percent -- was about the documents and consisted primarily of requests for CROSS-TELL booklets, the newsletter, CROSS-TELL reprints, and CRS reports and papers. An additional 12 percent of the items mentioned in correspondence pertained to the mailing list, including requests to be placed on the mailing list as well as notices of changes of address. Requests for and comments about "Poverty's Children" accounted for nearly half (46 percent) of the content of the correspondence.

Over the 20-month period, the largest number of letters (38 percent) came from the Northeastern United States. The next largest number came from the D. C. Metropolitan area (26 percent) and the Midwest (18 percent), with only 11 percent of the letters from the South, 6 percent from the West, and 1 percent from outside the United States. *The New York Times* publicity for "Poverty's Children" undoubtedly accounts for the large number of letters from the Northeast. A number of incoming letters specifically referred to the *Times* article.

Analysis of the correspondence by affiliation of sender shows that the largest number of letters (35 percent) came from staff and students in colleges and universities, from social welfare agencies (15 percent) and from private citizens (11 percent) who gave no institutuional or organizational affiliation (See Table 5). There was less contact from anti-poverty action and training programs by letter than by telephone call : 4 percent of the letters came from anti-poverty programs, compared to 11 percent of the telephone calls. There were also less letters than telephone calls from research institutes and research programs and projects: 3 percent of the letters were from research programs, compared to 7 percent of the telephone calls.

Looking at the correspondence from colleges and universities separately, nine-tenths (91 percent) came from faculty and staff and nine-tenths (91 percent) from outside the D. C. Metropolitan area. These letters were mainly orders and requests for CROSS-TELL/CRS documents -- 89 percent of the content was related to the documents. One-fourth (24 percent) came from social work schools, one-sixth (16 percent) from social science departments, and nearly half (44 percent) from *outside* the fields of social work, the social sciences and education. Many letters came from staff of home economics departments; law schools; schools of nursing, medicine and public health; agricultural colleges and agricultural extension services. By contrast, the majority of the telephone callers in colleges and universities were in departments of social work, the social sciences and education.

Two-thirds of the letters from social welfare agencies were from private agencies; most of the agencies were located outside the D. C. area. The health, mental health and housing agencies writing CROSS-TELL tended to be public, rather than private agencies.

More correspondence came from administrative and special projects personnel in the public schools than from classroom teachers. There was also more telephone contact from administrative and project personnel. A large proportion (42 percent) of the letters from public school sources were from the D. C. area.

Nearly three-tenths (29 percent) of the letters from persons in anti-poverty action and training programs originated in Federal agencies administering OEO programs.

TABLE 5. PROGRAM-RELATED CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED BY CROSS-TELL, DECEMBER, 1965-JUNE, 1967 BY ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF SENDER

Organizational Affiliation	Number	Percent
Colleges and universities	321	35
Public schools	55	6
Other educational organizations	14	2
Social welfare agencies	140	15
Health agencies	59	7
Mental health agencies	13	1
Housing agencies	6	1
Anti-poverty action and training programs	41	4
Research institutes, projects and programs	29	3
Employment and labor organizations	18	2
Communications media	19	2
Churches and religious bodies	17	2
Civil rights and human relations agencies	15	2
Recreational organizations and agencies	12	1
Other private organizations	41	4
Other public organizations	21	2
Private citizens (No affiliation given)	99	11
TOTAL	920	100

During the last six months of the project, July 1, 1967 through December 31, 1967 CROSS-TELL received an additional 229 letters, an average of 38 letters per month. The content of these letters was not analyzed.

Utilization Of CROSS-TELL Resources

What actual use was made of CROSS-TELL documents and staff available for lectures and discussion of CRS material?

Documents Distributed and Reprinted by Other Agencies: As mentioned earlier, the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged (IRCD) at Yeshiva University arranged for a special bulk printing of 20,000 copies of CROSS-TELL's first four booklets. IRCD placed CROSS-TELL booklets in a collection of materials on disadvantaged children and distributed most of the booklets to Headstart directors and teachers.

The Bureau of Family Services, HEW, circulated a letter, May 26, 1966 to "state agencies administering approved Public Assistance plans," announcing the availability of "Poverty's Children" from their office. Their records indicate that a good many of the copies of "Poverty's Children" HEW reprinted went in bulk lots to state departments of public welfare. The State of Ohio Department of Public Welfare received 500 copies of "Poverty's Children," for example· the State Department of Family and Children's Services, Atlanta, Georgia, 200. Letters to HEW requesting copies of the document often stated it would be used for staff training purposes. The Bureau of Family Services distributed a total of 8,100 copies of the mimeographed edition "Poverty's Children."

Dr. Daniel Thurz, Director of Research, Evaluation and Planning for VISTA had 3,000 copies of "Poverty's Children" printed to mail out to VISTA volunteers throughout the country.

In addition to large bulk reprints of CROSS-TELL materials for national distributuion, the Department of Social Services for the State of Michigan was given permission to reprint "Poverty's Children" for an In-Service Training Program in the Department. CROSS-TELL also approved a request from the Public Health Federation of Cincinnati, Ohio to reproduce "Poverty's Children" for local distribution, particularly for a workshop on "Fighting Poverty Through Health Education" to be attended by representatives of health agencies, social service agencies, schools and civic associations. In the Washington, D. C. area, the Alexandria Mental Health Center secured permission to reproduce "Poverty's Children," the papers by Hylan Lewis appearing in "Culture, Class and Poverty," and selected materials on Child Development from the CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook. These materials were to be used in training volunteers.

Range of Use of Documents and Speakers: Many of the requests for CROSS-TELL booklets and materials from university sources indicated they would be used in teaching traditional classes, such as Family, Social Work Issues, Child Development, Human Growth and Behavior, and Urban Sociology. There were a number of requests for courses that were specifically poverty-related; many of these came from departments and schools that have not traditionally shown an interest in poverty problems. For example, a Professor of Law at the University of Michigan Law School wrote for "Poverty's Children" for a course in race relation law. He described the course as "about half...devoted to problems of poverty and legal attacks on poverty." A staff member of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University requested CROSS-TELL material for a course on "poverty and policies related to it" in the MIT Department of Planning. The Director of the Parent Group Education Program, University of California, San Francisco Medical Center, asked for CROSS'TELL's first four booklets "for use with graduate students in maternal child nursing who are working with low socio-economic individuals and groups."

There were many requests for booklets and other materials to use in training teachers for inner city schools. The Northeastern Illinois State College requested copies of CROSS-TELL reports for its new graduate program in Inner City Studies, and the chairman of the Department of Education and Psychology at the District of Columbia Teachers College contacted CROSS-TELL for bulk copies of "Three Generations" and "Poverty's Children" for an NDEA Institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth.

Washington community agencies utilized CROSS-TELL speakers and materials for staff orientation and training. Early in the summer of 1967, for example, the CROSS-TELL assistant director led a discussion on Child Development and the Goals and Aspirations of low income parents at an orientation program for a summer recreation project, "The 15-12 Enrichment Program." This program,based in Southeast Washington, was sponsored jointly by District public and parochial schools under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Copies of the CROSS-TELL booklets, CROSS-TELL newsletters and the summary of *Living Poor* were given to approximately fifty staff members of the program. The nuns participating in this project came from inner city schools in all parts of the United States. Some later requested CROSS-TELL materials for use in their own communities.

Some of the poverty training sessions in which CROSS-TELL was involved were educational programs for volunteers and trainees in poverty programs. CROSS-TELL staff spoke, for example, to low income persons being trained for aide and social work assistant positions under the New Careers Training Program. CROSS-TELL booklets were used for orienting volunteers in neighborhood settlement house programs, foster home and juvenile delinquency projects, and tutorial and counselling programs.

Three hundred copies of "Poverty's Children" were distributed in a two-day conference on Programs for Children and Youth, convened by The White House in October, 1966. At this conference more than 1,000 D. C. residents, over half of them young people from the city's economically depressed areas, engaged in a dialogue with teachers, recreation workers, parents and planners working with D. C. summer programs.

Several local high school teachers used CROSS-TELL booklets and Institute Notebook materials for courses in sociology and social studies. A teacher in a Southeast Washington public high school used CROSS-TELL material in his 1966 classes and came to the office in the fall of 1967 for more booklets and case information. He discussed two cases from the CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook with his class the day he came and got such a positive response that he promised his class he would visit the office in the afternoon. He said CROSS-TELL/HWC material was the most effective he had used in teaching. The students were more interested because it was based on studies of Washington. He had also used the Thursz "Where are they Now?" study.

A local parochial school teacher found "Three Generations" especially good for high school students.

Individuals sometimes contacted CROSS-TELL for their own personal growth, seeking material to update their professional background and improve their understanding of poverty problems. A social worker "back in the field after ten years" stopped by the office to obtain copies of CROSS-TELL/CRS material recommended by a friend. A part-time recreation worker, she had gone back to work after years of being a housewife. She felt "out of touch" and was reading widely to "bring herself up to date."

A public school teacher in a small Michigan town requesting a packet of CRS material wrote:

> As a Title I teacher in the public schools, I work with children from low income families and am constantly striving to increase my understanding of people who live in poverty and the problems they face. Our Title I program not only seeks to help the child but also the entire family.[1]

A seminarian majoring in sociology at a Canadian university wrote for publications that would give his Canadian classmates "the opportunity to become aware of social problems in America."

"Poverty's Children" and "Three Generations" were cited in the U. S. Civil Rights commission's report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," in a discussion of social class and its effects on education.[2]

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[1] September 14, 1967

[2] Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing ffice, 1967, 77-79

A Headstart project in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico requested permission to adapt and translate into Spanish the "Quote Unquote" dialogue from "Telling It Like It Is!" A professor of social welfare preparing an anthology of *Readings in Social Welfare* was given permission to include other portions of "Telling It Like It Is!" in his volume.

Production of "Telling It Like It Is!": Following the Howard presentation of "Telling It Like It Is!" and publication of the CROSS-TELL booklet, the project periodically received inquiries from persons interested in reproducing the program. Inquiries came from the Arlington-Fairfax Jewish Center, Arlington, Virginia; a VISTA coordinator in Phoenix, Arizona; the Milwaukee, Wisconsin Mental Health Association; someone interested in presenting it to "a church group" in Monessen, Pennsylvania: and Unitarian Fellowship groups in Longview, Washington and Durham-Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The two Unitarian Fellowship groups reported producing "Telling It Like It Is!" at Fellowship meetings. The Durham-Chapel Hill presentation was followed by a discussion and this group was supplied with other CROSS-TELL materials to use in preparation for the meeting. The Longview, Washington Unitarian Fellowship reported that their program was part of a year's study of poverty and social alienation and that the production "was very well received."

In Washington, D. C. copies of "Telling It Like It Is!" were furnished to a board member of the Metropolitan Branch of the YMCA who thought the script might serve as a guide for presenting case material from a YMCA study.

"Volunteer" Publicity

The initial CROSS-TELL proposal projected a "seeding operation" whereby CRS materials would be disseminated in broadcast fashion to the mass media and to professional channels in relevant fields, such as social work, education, housing and health.

While the CROSS-TELL project pursued this possibility to a very limited degree, there was a certain amount of "volunteer" publication of CRS findings and publicity for CROSS-TELL documents in the mass media and in professional publications. This "volunteer" publicity is another index of the degree to which the CROSS-TELL project "caught on."

Newspaper Feature Stories: In addition to the newspaper coverage discussed earlier, two feature stories utilizing CRS material appeared in *The Washington Post* during the life of the CROSS-TELL project. The Sunday, January 29, 1967 Women's Section of *The Washington Post* carried a lengthy feature story on unwed mothers which quoted from "Poverty's Children" and "Three Generations."[1] On September 24, 1967 a former *Post* reporter on CROSS-TELL's mailing list quoted "Three Generations" in a *Post* feature article examining race and illegitimacy.[2]

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[1] Carol Honsa, "Sometimes It's the Innocent Girl Who Learns Babies Don't Come from Heaven," F17, F20. A copy of this article is included among the documents submitted to NIMH with this report. See Exhibit 7 (j)

[2] Dorothy Gilliam, "Problem Is Rooted In Bias, Slum Life," B1

In addition to the two *Post* feature stories, *Capitol Hill News*, a publication of the Capitol Hill Community Council, jointly reviewed "Poverty's Children" and the Moynihan Report, November, 1966, referring readers to CROSS-TELL for copies of "Poverty's Children."[1]

Notices in Professional and Organizational Publications: Reviews and notices of CROSS-TELL booklets appeared in both national and local professional and organizational publications. These notices and reviews, especially those published in national journals and newsletters, stimulated a number of requests for CROSS-TELL publications.

On the National level, the *Social Service Review*, a quarterly social work journal published by the University of Chicago, discussed the CRS project, the initiation of CROSS-TELL and the publication of "Poverty's Children," June, 1966.[2] The *Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts*, compiled by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, digested "Poverty's Children" in one of its 1966 issues,[3] and also included "Poverty's Children" in its 1966 *Annual Index to Poverty, Human Resources, and Manpower Information.*[4]

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[1] Vol. 6, No. 10, 7

[2] 209-210

[3] Vol. 1, No. 4 (1966), 41

[4] Ann Arbor, Michigan: Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, no date, 46, 166, 217, 248, 283.

The July-August, 1967 issue of *Children,* a bimonthly inter-professional journal published by the Children's Bureau, HEW, included a brief description of the CRS and CROSS-TELL projects. This article mentioned the availability of the four CROSS-TELL booklets published to that date, which stimulated a number of requests for the booklets.[1] Similarly, a notice of Hylan Lewis' "Culture, Class and Poverty" in "Publications of Interest," *Welfare in Review,* August-September, 1967, brought in many requests for that booklet.[2] *Welfare in Review* is published by the Welfare Administration, HEW.

The American Home Economics Association *Newsletter* cited "Telling It Like It Is!" in its January, 1967 issue devoted to training opportunities and resources for "All Home Economists Interested in Low Income Families."[3] This listing probably accounted for many of the inquiries from schools and departments of home economics. The March, 1967 *Newsletter* of the National Council on Family Relations also included "Telling It Like It Is!" in a listing of newly available books and pamphlets.[4]

On the community level, the Fall, 1966 issue of *News Notes* of Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, D. C., recommended "Poverty's Children" and "Three Generations" to its readers.[5] The November, 1966 *Home Study Newssheet* of the Home Study Program, Inc., Montgomery County, Maryland, a volunteer tutorial project, also noted the availability of "Poverty's Children" and "Three Generations" at the CROSS-TELL office.[1]

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[1] Vol. 14, No. 4, 166-167

[2] Vol. 5, No. 7, 20

[3] 7

[4] Vol. 12, No. 1, 11

[5] Number 12, 2

Assessing the CROSS-TELL Project

CROSS-TELL began with a wealth of data compiled during a four-year research study. Some of the findings had been summarized and synthesized, and some were still in raw form. Some of the data had been communicated through the rather traditional media of professional papers in social science journals and conferences. CROSS-TELL's task was to digest the findings, translate them into forms that could be conveyed popularly, and engage in communication activities to reach intended audiences.

A rather elaborate initial plan of activities was modified by the talents and personalities of the staff, the pressures of time, and the external forces of a National anti-poverty program of large proportions. Major components of the CROSS-TELL project in action were a series of printed publications, an interpretive newsletter, a series of meetings on CRS research, and cooperation with the activities and programs of other groups with similar goals and missions.

Through its publications and meetings, CROSS-TELL attempted to bring insights to its audiences not previously obtained through training and experience.

The Publications Component: CROSS-TELL publications and documents were well received and were utilized by a wide variety of groups. The supply of each of the booklets was exhausted well before the end of the project, as was the supply of all reprints, CRS papers and reports. At various points in the project publications were "rationed out" in small numbers or were not available. The project could easily have distributed two to three times the number of publications printed.

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[1] 2

The documents were especially in demand as college teaching texts and by college and university staff for various poverty-related interests. This was true on a national level, even more than on a local level, although no special attempt to promote distribution in colleges outside Metropolitan D. C. was made. The CROSS-TELL experience indicates that college and university staff and scientific professional associations and journals are most likely to find out about research materials, initiate contact and utilize publications. Utilization of the publications by university staff took place largely on a "volunteer" basis, since only a small number of academicians were on the original mailing list and no special effort to solicit their interest was made, except for the Howard University School of Social Work. The heavy use of CROSS-TELL documents for teaching purposes has significance for the future, but this kind of long range influence on future professionals was not one of the goals of the project as it was originally designed.

Social welfare agencies also made wide use of the documents. The limited response to the documents from public school teachers and staff, despite the large number from this group on the original mailing list , suggests that school teachers and administrators respond to written materials less readily than college and university staff and social workers. It should also be noted that there was also a social work liaison person on the staff during part of the project, while this comparable post in education was not filled. More direct personal contact probably should be made with public school teachers and school personnel, to get better results. This is probably true of personnel in other social agencies, in the field of health and housing, recreation and so forth. No concerted effort to reach these groups was made but their "volunteer" response was limited.

Although newspaper publicity of the documents was utilized only to a limited degree, publicity was effective in stimulating inquiries and greatly increased the circulation of materials. *The New York Times* and Washington newspaper coverage of "Poverty's Children" notified hundreds of the CROSS-TELL project and its publications and created an interest that was not present for the other documents, the exception to this perhaps being the CROSS-TELL booklet based on Hylan Lewis' papers, "Culture, Class and Poverty." While CROSS-TELL did not attempt to publicize this document through the press, one newspaper story appeared in the Washington papers. Word spread among professional social science and social work circles, largely through notices in professional journals and newsletters. Future projects would benefit greatly from more intensive use of newspaper publicity and from a concerted effort to notify relevant professional journals and publications of booklets and papers. The interest in materials is present, but people have to know of their availability.

CROSS-TELL did not set out to distribute its publications on a National level, but *The New York Times* coverage, the proximity to Federal agencies operating on a National level and the location in Washington of the National headquarters of many professional and human service agencies made the project National in scope, at least with respect to publications. The CROSS-TELL experience points up the opportunity for giving National scope to a Washington-based "community" project. It also suggests the degree to which it is almost impossible to conduct a project in Washington that does not take on National dimensions.

CROSS-TELL placed great emphasis on the appearance of its printed and mimeographed materials. The CROSS-TELL director feels that the concept, design and execution of the CROSS-TELL booklets are models that other communicators could very well follow. CROSS-TELL publications, were, to quote a recent paper, "carefully packaged and labelled," creating the good first impression that might be crucial to readership.[1] CROSS-TELL publications were confined to one topic or subject. Precautions were taken against "overloading" written materials with superfluous data and comments.

The Teaching Program: The CROSS-TELL Workshop was the high point in the teaching program, from the standpoint of both the presentation of CRS material, and the "go forth" spirit that seemed to prevade discussions. Sessions were lively and well attended and the feedback was encouraging. One of the most enthusiastic responses came from a female probation officer who wrote CROSS-TELL:

> ...I left the conference with a burning desire to work harder toward the goals of individualizing clients, recognizing the unique qualities of each, and avoiding the tendency to generalize or stereotype their values, needs and abilities. I was

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[1] Ronald G. Havelock and Kenneth D. Benne, "An Exploratory Study of Knowledge Utilization," Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, January 13, 1966, 22.

> surprised to find that I still held on to some stereotyped ideas which affect my casework goals for certain clients.
>
> For example, in the [group discussions] led by Mrs. [Patricia] Garland concerning sex and illegitimacy, several new ideas were presented by her which will certainly change my present methods of dealing with unwed mothers. I have wondered why I had not thought of these points myself.[1]

Launching the sessions with a documentary film which supported and enhanced the CRS message was one of the highly successful features of the Workshop. During the discussions, participants repeatedly referred to lines and scenes that they remembered from "The Tenement." CROSS-TELL's use of "The Tenement" stimulated other showings of the film in the Washington community.

The two-day program and the concentration on discussion, as opposed to formal presentations, gave Workshop participants maximum opportunity for involvement and sounding out their own thinking. Participants particularly wanted to know what they, their agencies and their government could *do* about poverty. While the CRS research materials do not provide guidelines for specific action, discussion of the materials generated ideas for action, helping the participants make up their own minds.

This highlights an important issue in communicating research results. Frequently research produces findings with programmatic implications, but not specific proposals. And it is these specific action plans which practitioners seek. Thus, the communicator faces an audience with material of interest to him but not necessarily of concern to his audience.

In spite of the difficulties in the teaching program, CROSS-TELL broke ground in at least one phase of it -- the "Telling It Like It Is!"

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[1] May 18, 1967

dramatic presentation which "kicked off" the Institute Program. The live performance was well received and subsequent inquiry indicates that the idea of this kind of dramatic vehicle for communicating research has a certain appeal. There was not enough followup on pamphlet distribution of "Telling It Like It Is!" to determine whether there was actually much use of the script for live presentation.

The more formal program of the Institutes, utilizing prepared papers and a classroom "course" approach was, on the whole, not effective in communicating ideas and stimulating interest and involvement.

Another point that should be made about the teaching program was its failure to reach people at the policy-making level. Some agency people at this level did attend some of the CROSS-TELL programs, but only a few.

Throughout the teaching program, CROSS-TELL observed that many persons who attended and thought they were attuned to the CRS view were not. Although they often expressed open agreement, reactions and comments in the course of discussion indicated that their thinking was far afield from the CRS "message." Some stated they had experienced a change in their views as a result of their participation.

Cooperative Activities: CROSS-TELL's contacts with other groups through speaking engagements, participation in programs and consultation generated many requests for the documents and some requests for speakers. Persons attending these meetings often immediately requested additional documents for use in their own programs. Later on, they frequently made additional requests for other groups in which they were active. These contacts also generated requests from the friends and professional contacts of persons who attended meetings where CROSS-TELL material was distributed.

CROSS-TELL might have done well to aggressively seek out more contact with other organizations and professional groups -- particularly among civic groups and government agency personnel most in need of the ideas CROSS-TELL attempted to spread.

CROSS-TELL in a Larger Perspective

The paths from research to communication to utilization are not clear and well marked. Experience with this project suggests some of the problems and possible avenues of approach.

General Theory of Knowledge Utilization: Ronald G. Havelock and Kenneth D. Benne conceptualize a utilization "chain" of scientific knowledge passing through interrelated groups and individuals from the scholar, on the "basic research" end of the chain, to the consumer on the "applied" end of it.[1] Their exploratory paper on the communication and utilization of knowledge points out that the reception of scientific "messages" may be influenced by the relationship of the receiver to the sender, especially the extent to which they share "the common prejudices and value orientation of the 'scientific establishment'." If the sender is near the "basic" scientific research end of the utilization chain, "he may be more likely to deal with information abstractly and theoretically." But if the receiver is nearer the "applied" end of the chain "he may only be tuned to receive information which is practical, concrete, and of clear relevance to consumer need." The problem of utilization is thus

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[1] "An Exploratory Study of Knowledge Utilization," 4 ff.

> not simply to get a given piece of information across from a sender to a receiver, but to change it, transform it, so that it can be recognized and accepted as something of value in a system which views information differently.[1]

Transmission of Social Science Information: The transmission of basic social science research bearing on the solution of poverty problems to political and social agencies "so that it can be recognized and accepted as something of value in a system which views information differently" is one of the crucial communication problems facing America today.

Traditionally, the responsibility for communication of social science information has rested upon the researcher himself and his individual or institutional capacity to publish books and papers. Traditionally, the scholar hoped to at least influence his colleagues in the groves of academia. As the public has become more aware of poverty -- particularly in the wake of riots -- social scientists have been called on to provide quick diagnosis and programmatic solutions. Many scholars are pressured by the mass media to provide on-the-spot explanations and solutions to problems that could take years of research.

Following the lead of other groups that are sensitive to public esteem and opinion, the academic community is increasingly tending to accommodate itself to the media's demands. This tendency is shown by the gyrations of the "instant scholar," who turns out 2,000 or 3,000 analytical words on the Detroit riot both for a Sunday newspaper editorial section and the next issue of *Harper's*. The "instant scholar" also may appear on the "Today" or David Susskind show, and, after little or no respite, turn his attention to other news subjects, perhaps the "hippie" phenomenon, auto safety, or the import of the proposal for a guaranteed annual income.[1]

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[1] "An Exploratory Study," 14

For this reason and others -- namely, the quality of newspaper reporting -- the social scientist's efforts to communicate outside of the academic community are often fragmented or distorted. The controversial Moynihan Report -- no matter what its merits -- is perhaps the classic example of how political sensitivities and the demands of the mass media can lead to mass confusion.[2]

Recommendations for Better Social Science Communication: The CROSS-TELL director feels that a communications and knowledge utilization component should be built into the social scientist's original research plans. This would give the principal investigator maximum responsibility for and a greater measure of control over the presentation of findings at all points on the knowledge utilization chain. Some researchers may be able to perform a communications function themselves; others might be better served by a communications specialist.

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[1] Additional comments on "instant scholarship" appear in a different context in Luther P. Jackson, "The Problem of Telling It Like It Is," *The Negro History Bulletin*, April, 1966, 151-152; 161-163.

[2] For an analysis of the reaction to the Moynihan report by the Federal Government, the media and civil rights proponents see *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M. I. T. Press, 1967)

A communications specialist in a research organization would have to be attuned to the substance of the research as it applies to topical concerns and programs. As parts of the research are completed, the principal investigator could direct the specialist in making specific findings available and "packaging" them for specialized or general audiences in language that each could understand. As the research develops, some of the findings might be immediately applicable to a specific agency or program.

The findings might also be of such broad significance that they could be released through the mass media. In such instances, the communications specialist might attempt a fairly detailed synthesis of the substance of the message and use citations for the benefit of reporters who might want to pursue the subject in greater depth.

The concept of a communications specialist or "engineer" requires persons with sufficient knowledge of the social sciences, writing skills and an understanding of the needs and demands of various audiences. One of the crucial issues is personnel. Often the researcher does not possess communication skills. Often the publicist lacks an appreciation of scientific data and the hazards of loose generalization.

A sociologist, Amitai Etzioni, has proposed that sociology departments revise their curriculum to train "social analysts" who could become editors, reporters and political scientists. Noting that most editors and reporters are academically trained in English literature, political science and law, Etzioni asserts that people trained in these disciplines

> have a poor record of understanding social issues, from race relations to the radical right....[The liberal arts] disciplines

> install blinders which can be removed through training in social analysis; but rarely without it.[1]

The Russell Sage Foundation has sponsored an interne program for young journalists in which they divide their time between taking social science courses at Washington University and working for TRANS-ACTION, the university's monthly publication, which has been remarkably successful in adapting social science research papers into readable articles on topical issues. The Foundation also has established fellowship programs for "mid-career" journalists to study the social sciences at Columbia University, Rutgers University and the University of Wisconsin.

Some graduate schools of journalism are placing increased emphasis upon teaching "in depth" reporting about urban affairs and are encouraging their students to take courses in sociology and anthropology as well as political science and foreign affairs. At least one newspaper, *The Washington Post*, has an interne program designed to train potential reporters to be more perceptive in their accounts of social issues.

Such programs are designed to better acquaint journalists or journalism students with the social sciences and social issues. CROSS-TELL knows of no comparable effort to educate social scientists in the techniques of journalism. Communication between scholars and the media should not be a one-way street. Scholars also need to know more about the media.

The mass media are, of course, only one avenue of communication and not necessarily the most effective. Communications efforts need to be tailored to particular research findings and organizational goals and should not rely too heavily on the written word. Havelock and Benne have stressed the limitations of the printed word and CROSS-TELL's own experience bore this out:

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[1] "Social Analysis as a Sociological Vocation," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70 (March, 1965), 613-622.

> Writing is the primary carrier of information in a complex and technological culture and it has the advantages of accuracy and volume transmittal. On the other hand, it is often slow, tends to be overloaded, and is ineffective for feedback.[1]

The real pay-off comes with acceptance of the "message" at the level of decision and opinion-making -- acceptance on a level that will result in new policies and programs. Communication, alone, rarely brings about this kind of acceptance because of the political and economic interests at stake. But reaching decision and policy-makers with ideas is one facet of the process of social change.

Conclusions

In summary, the CROSS-TELL project achieved much of what it set out to do, particularly in the publications phase. Although there is merit in a planned program of communication of research findings, CROSS-TELL is keenly aware of some of the pitfalls and of the lag between communicating research and concrete, followup action by appropriate agencies and institutions.

The most meaningful test of a poverty communications effort is its contribution to actual change among low income families. The few indications of a real contribution in this area were heartening. For example, in the Fall of 1967, CROSS-TELL received a series of requests for booklets from a teacher and students who were planning an action project in connection with a social science class. A thank you note from one of these students, posted several weeks after a set of documents were sent, is most encouraging:

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[1] "An Exploratory Study," 22

> Thank you so much for the literature on poverty which you sent me. It was quite helpful and I appreciate your interest and cooperation. Our low income management project is working out fine.[1]

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[1] October 10, 1967

2. An Objective Evaluation: The Results of Before and After Questionnaires

AN OBJECTIVE EVALUATION: The Results of Before and After Questionnaires

The Study Plan

In designing the CROSS-TELL project, it was decided to include a plan for evaluation of the effort to reach persons and to communicate views about poverty which could be measured objectively. The plan was to identify a segment of the audience which the CROSS-TELL activities would seek to reach. We would learn the opinions of the audience on selected poverty issues by a questionnaire response prior to their exposure to CROSS-TELL programs. We would use a second questionnaire after the programs were conducted, and compare the two responses, measured according to degree of exposure to the CROSS-TELL activities.

This phase of the CROSS-TELL project, while conducted by the Health and Welfare Council, was handled by personnel outside the program staff of the CROSS-TELL operation. No member of the program staff was involved in the analysis of the results or the report on this analysis. The design of this evaluation phase was developed by Dr. Harold S. Goldblatt when he was research director of HWC. The questionnaire distribution was handled by Mrs. Charlotte Carbonnel, research assistant, under Dr. Goldblatt's supervision. Both of these persons left HWC before the CROSS-TELL project was concluded, and the analysis and report on this phase was undertaken by the executive director of HWC, Isadore Seeman.

The Study Population

It was the aim of this evaluation program to secure measurement of results from a population which would be representative of those to whom the CROSS-

TELL project was directed and which would in fact be likely to be reached by CROSS-TELL activities. The population selected to receive the before and after questionnaires was therefore identified early in the CROSS-TELL program design and was associated with the program plan. CROSS-TELL developed an initial mailing list of 2,074 persons to receive the CROSS-TELL newsletters and CROSS-TELL publications. This initial mailing list population received the two study questionnaires. For program purpose the original mailing list was subsequently changed and enlarged -- the initial list remained the same for the evaluation project.

The method by which the mailing list was developed has been described earlier in this report in the section on "The CROSS-TELL Medium" and will not be repeated here. The study population consisted of 2,074 persons, including social workers and educators at the practice and administrative levels, and laymen with respect to human service programs. There were employees in voluntary agencies and in government at all levels.

Characteristics of Those Who Replied

An analysis of those who responded to both questionnaires suggests that we did in fact reach largely the type of audiences intended. The first questionnaire was completed by 869 persons, or 41 percent of those who received it. Both questionnaires were completed by 528 persons, or 25 percent of the audience. (See Appendix V for copies of questionnaires)
Of the 528 persons who completed both questionnaires, there were professionals and lay persons; there were employees in social work, in education, and in medicine; there were those at the practice level and persons in administration. The program reached employees in local and state government agencies,

in Federal agencies, and in private agencies. (See Table 1)

There were no striking differences in the characteristics of the 869 persons who answered the first inquiry and the 528 who returned both. Their distribution by age and sex were nearly identical; slightly fewer of those who answered both questionnaires were in the educational field, and fewer functioned at the administrative level.

Sex: Nearly one-half of those who answered both questionnaires (45 percent) were men. This is an unusually high proportion considering the preponderance of women in the social work and teaching professions which were so heavily involved in this program.

Age: The questionnaires were answered primarily by mature and older persons. Only 9 percent were under 30 years old. About one-fourth (28 percent) were under 40 years old, 29 percent were between 40 and 49 years, and 38 percent were aged 50 or over. Those over 55 years old represented 22 percent of the total.

Occupation: One-third (32 percent) of the respondents worked in the field of education, and one-third (34 percent) in health, welfare and recreation.

Race: Negroes constituted 37 percent of the respondents. In the total metropolitan population, about 25 percent are Negro; in the total District of Columbia population, about 60 percent are Negro; but in the professions which were a major target of the project, a considerably smaller percent are Negro than in the total population.

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS TO BOTH QUESTIONNAIRES

Characteristics of Respondents	Number of Persons	Percent
Total	528	100
Men	236	45
Women	276	52
No information	16	3
White	352	66
Negro	167	32
Other or no information	9	2
Under 30 years old	46	9
30-39 years	105	20
40-49 years	155	29
50-54 years	82	15
55 years and older	116	22
No information	24	5
Married	387	73
Single	91	17
Widowed, widower	17	3
Separated	8	2
Divorced	25	5
No information	--	--
Protestant	310	59
Catholic	82	16
Jewish	75	14
Other or no information	61	11
Birthplace:		
Washington, D. C.	88	17
Northeastern state	158	30
Southern state	114	22
North central state	97	18
Western state	37	7
Foreign country	20	5
Other or no information	4	1
Professionals	466	88
Lay persons	41	8
No information	21	4

Characteristics of Respondents	Number of Persons	Percent
Total	528	100
Social worker practicioners	122	23
Social work administrators and supervisors	24	5
Elementary and high school teachers	52	10
College teachers	43	8
Elementary and high school administrators	43	8
Other executives	37	7
Medical profession	12	2
Other professionals not in daily contact with children	105	20
Not in labor force	41	8
Other or no response	49	9
Have children under 12-years-old:		
None	250	48
One	73	14
Two	65	12
Three	37	7
Four or more	13	2
Not applicable	88	17
No information	2	--
Have children 12 through 18-years-old:		
None	276	52
One	87	16
Two	50	9
Three	14	3
Four or more	6	1
Not applicable	87	17
No information	8	2
In childhood, family circumstances:		
Low income	98	19
Low middle income	177	34
Middle income	180	34
Upper middle income	59	11
Affluent	7	1
Other or no information	2	1

Characteristics of Respondents	Number of Persons	Percent
Total	528	100
In childhood, family adults consisted of:		
Mother and father	431	81
Mother only	43	8
Father only	4	1
Mother and stepfather	11	2
Father and stepmother	6	1
Grandparent(s) only	3	1
Guardian(s) only	1	--
Other	28	6
No information	1	--
In childhood, highest formal education of chief breadwinner:		
Less than high school	171	32
Some high school	71	13
High school graduate	73	14
High school graduate plus technical education	36	7
Some college, but no degree	57	11
Bachelor degree	44	9
Study beyond bachelor degree	75	14
No information	1	--

The Reach of CROSS-TELL

The second questionnaire inquired of each respondent the extent to which he was reached by the CROSS-TELL programs. Information was sought on exposure at meetings, including the dramatic program held at Crampton Auditorium of Howard University, the nine institute sessions for professional workers, and ten speaking engagements. The two-day workshop was held after the second questionnaires were completed, and is therefore not included in this analysis. Exposure to the CROSS-TELL publications was also examined, including reading of "Poverty's Children," "Three Generations," "Telling It Like It Is!," and "Culture, Class and Poverty."

The publications reached considerably more of the questionnaire panel than did the meetings. Of the 528 persons on the study panel, 87 percent were reached by some CROSS-TELL publication. The highest proportion of persons who read all or part of a publication was the 81 percent who read "Poverty's Children." "Three Generations" reached 60 percent, "Telling It Like It Is!," was read by 66 percent, and "Culture, Class and Poverty" was read by 54 percent. Thus, more than half of the study population read one or more publications of the project.

One or another form of the meetings, in contrast, were attended by 26 percent of the study population. A maximum of 15 percent came to one or more of the institute sessions. The speaking engagements reached 13 percent of the questionnaire population, and the dramatic reading was attended by only 8 percent of the questionnaire study population.

Consideration of the intensity of reach is significant. Although 81 percent read or scanned "Poverty's Children," 50 percent read it in its entirety. For "Telling It Like It Is!," 47 percent read the entire pamphlet. "Three Generations" was read completely by 38 percent, and "Culture, Class and Poverty" by 32 percent. Of those persons who reported that they read or scanned the four publications, between 70 and 80 percent said they read at least half of the pamphlet.

Of the nine institute sessions which were held, attendance at five of them was the maximum, achieved by only two persons in the questionnaire population. One-half of all those who attended institutes were present for only one of the nine.

There were ten speaking engagements, and four was the maximum achieved by any of the questionnaire respondents, three persons reaching this level of exposure. Of those who attended any of the engagements, 57 percent attended only one.

A Measure of Exposure: We assigned numerial values to the number of meetings attended and the extent of reading of the publications, to classify exposure as none, slight, moderate or heavy. Every one of the 528 persons who sent in both the first and the second questionnaire was reached to some degree by a meeting or a publication; none escaped exposure entirely. Of those who attended meetings, to be classified under slight exposure they might have attended from one to seven meetings; classification of moderate exposure required attendance at a minimum of eight meetings out of the possible total of 20 meetings. Seventy-four percent of the study population attended none of the meetings; 23 percent fell under the category of slight exposure to meetings, and 3 percent under moderate.

For the publication audience, with four pamphlets used in the education programs, a code of 3 was assigned if the publication was read in its entirety, 2 if they read less than half or well over half, and 1 if the pamphlet was scanned. Those with a score of one to four on the combined pamphlet exposure were classified under slight exposure; those with a five to eight score, as moderate; and those with a nine to twelve score, as heavy. Only 13 percent of the persons read none of the publications. Slight exposure to publications was achieved by 24 percent of the respondents; moderate, 23 percent; and heavy exposure, by 40 percent.

Agreement With Child Rearing Study Propositions

As the critical test of the results achieved by the CROSS-TELL program in this objective evaluation of the project, we selected six conclusions or propositions developed in the HWC Child Rearing Study. We asked for extent of agreement with these propositions on both the first and the second questionnaires. These propositions were a significant part of the communication program of the CROSS-TELL project. We did not blare them forth repeatedly in slogan-like fashion, but their underlying thesis was woven through publications, discussions, lectures, dramatizations, and newsletters.

These six propositions as digested for questionnaire purposes, are:

1. Child rearing practices of poor families that appear as neglect often have the practical basis of encouraging independence at an early age.
2. Low income families have prudish attitudes and inhibitions about sex more often than middle class families.
3. Lack of money is the major reason why the poverty-stricken behave differently from the well-to-do.

4. Most low income families do not dare to reach for goals which are too high.

5. Drunkenness is the most frequent complaint that Negro women make about "no good husbands."

6. Among low income families the neighborhood is generally just the place where they happen to be living.

For each of these propositions, we asked the questionnaire population to check the position on a five-point scale which came closest to their own opinion: strongly agree, agree, undecided or don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree. Agreement with the proposition represented the correct response from the CRS point of view. We classified the response as agreement with the proposition if either of the first two choices was checked.

On the first questionnaire, half of those who replied expressed agreement with fewer than half of the six propositions. Nearly one-fourth (23 percent) agreed with exactly half of the propositions, and about one-fourth (26 percent) agreed with more than half of the propositions. Thus, 49 percent agreed with half or more of the six propositions. (See Table 2)

On the second questionnaire, there was a distinct rise in extent of agreement with the CRS propositions. From 49 percent in agreement with one-half or more of the propositions, the figure rose to 59 percent. The percent who agreed with none of the statements fell from 15 to 5. The percent who agreed with all six rose from 1.7 to 3.4.

The percent of responses in agreement with the individual propositions ranged from 31 to 64 percent on the second questionnaire. The greatest agreement came on the statement relating to neglect and independence training (no. 1) with 64 percent in agreement. Next came the proposition on goals

TABLE 2. AGREEMENT WITH CRS PROPOSITIONS ON FIRST AND SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

	First Questionnaire		Second Questionnaire	
Number of Propositions Agreed with	Number of Persons	Percent	Number of Persons	Percent
0	80	15.1	26	4.9
1	76	14.4	78	14.8
2	112	21.2	111	21.0
3	121	22.9	141	26.7
4	87	16.5	102	19.3
5	43	8.1	52	9.8
6	9	1.7	18	3.4
TOTAL	528	99.9	528	99.9

(No. 4), with 58 percent agreeing. Third, with 50 percent in agreement, was the proposition on neighborhood (No. 6). Fourth was the proposition on sex attitudes (No. 2), with 47 percent in accord. Next came the proposition on lack of money (No. 3), on which 34 percent agreed. Last was the statement on drunkenness (No. 5), with 31 percent agreeing.

The greatest change in opinion came on the proposition relating to sex attitudes and inhibitions (No. 2), on which agreement from the first to the second questionnaire rose from 30 percent to 47 percent. The one change in reverse, where fewer people agreed on the second questionnaire than on the first, was the proposition dealing with lack of money as the major factor in difference of behavior among the poor and the well-to-do (No. 3). Agreement fell from 40 percent to 34 percent. The extent of change on the other individual propositions was not great.

An examination of the characteristics of those in greatest agreement with the CRS propositions on the second questionnaire shows that those in ages 30 to 40, and ages 45 to 55 responded most favorably. Women showed a higher proportion of agreement than men. Employees in state and local government and private agencies showed the greatest agreement. By occupation, the social workers, teachers, and professionals not in daily contact with children registered highest agreement.

While Negroes constituted 37 percent of the study population, they represented 44 percent of those in agreement with more than half of the propositions, thus showing a higher rate of agreement. By religious affiliation, lowest rates of agreement were shown by Catholics and Jews; Catholics were 17 percent of the study population but 13 percent of those agreeing with more than half of the propositions; Jews constituted 13 percent of the study population and 8 percent of those agreeing with over half of the propositions. Protestants were 59 percent of the survey group, and 67 percent of those in agreement with more than half of the propositions. There were no major variations in agreement with the propositions according to the income level of the family during the childhood of the respondents. Education of the breadwinner during the childhood of the respondent showed some influence on agreement; while those with less than a high school education were 31 percent of the study group, they were 27 percent of the group agreeing with more than half of the propositions; those with a college education were 25 percent of the study panel and constituted 27 percent of those in highest agreement. Married persons showed higher agreement than single persons.

Change in Agreement With CRS Propositions

Comparing the response of the same individual on the second questionnaire with his response on the first, we found that nearly one-half (47 percent) agreed with more propositions on the second than on the first, with 39 percent increasing agreement by one or two propositions, and 8 percent increasing by three or more propositions (See Table 3). Nearly one-fourth (23 percent) of those who replied showed no change in the number of propositions agreed with. Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents (39 percent) decreased in the number of propositions they concured in, with 26 percent dropping by one or two propositions, and 3 percent dropping by three or more. Overall, 77 percent showed some change in response.

About one-half (51 percent) of those who agreed with none of the first questionnaire propositions agreed with one or two on the second; 40 percent rose to agreement with three or more; and 9 percent remained in disagreement with all propositions.

Of those who agreed with only one first questionnaire proposition, 59 percent increased their agreement to two or three items, 10 percent increased even more, 22 percent stayed constant with one agreement, and 8 percent reduced to no agreement.

Of those who agreed with two propositions on the initial response, 52 percent increased agreement by one or two propositions on the second reply, 2 percent increased more, 24 percent dropped in agreement by one or two, and 22 percent remained at two agreements.

An equal number of those initially in agreement with three items rose and fell by one or two items (31 percent), while 30 percent remained the same, 5 percent dropped all three points of agreement, and 2 percent rose to full agreement with all six items.

Of those who agreed initially with four or more propositions, 50 percent dropped in agreement one or two items, 18 percent rose by an equal number, 25 percent remained unchanged, and 9 percent dropped three or more items.

While 47 percent of all who replied to the two questionnaires showed an increase in agreement with the propositions, two age groups showed a larger percent increase; those aged 50 through 54 increased by 52 percent, and those between 30 and 40 increased by 57 percent. The greatest decreases in agreement occured at the two extreme age groups, those under 30 and those 55 and over, each showing 35 percent compared with 29 percent for the total study population.

Employees in state and local government showed a 51 percent increase in agreement, compared with the 47 percent average for all in the study sample.

Lower increases of 40 percent were observed for Federal employees and for those not in the labor force.

The highest increases by occupation were shown for school administrators (54 percent), for social workers (52 percent) and for professionals not in daily contact with children (52 percent), compared with the average of 47 percent. Lowest increases occurred among executives other than social work and education (41 percent) and among college teachers (35 percent).

Change in Agreement in Relation to CROSS-TELL Exposure

What relationship was found between degree of exposure to CROSS-TELL materials and change in agreement with the poverty propositions of the Child Rearing Study? Of those participating in the questionnaire study who had moderate exposure at CROSS-TELL meetings, 62 percent agreed with more propositions after the experience than before. (See Table 4) This compares with an increase for only 44 percent of those with slight exposure at meetings, and of 48 percent of those with no exposure. The average increase for all was 47 percent, and there were none classified under heavy exposure to meetings.

There was a decrease in agreement for 7 percent of those with moderate meeting exposure, compared to a decrease for 31 percent of those with slight exposure, and 30 percent with no exposure. The average decrease was 29 percent. Nearly one-third (31 percent) of those with moderate exposure remained unchanged in the number of propositions they agreed with, 25 percent remained unchanged in the slight exposure group, and 22 percent remained unchanged when there was no exposure. 23 percent of the total study panel remained unchanged.

TABLE 3. CHANGE IN AGREEMENT WITH CRS PROPOSITIONS

Change in Agreement	Number of Persons		Percent	
Increase of one or two propositions	207		39.2	
Increase of three or more propositions	44		8.3	
Increase in agreement		251		47.5
Decrease of one or two propositions	137		25.9	
Decrease of three or more propositions	18		3.4	
Decrease in agreement		155		29.4
No change	122		23.1	
TOTAL	528		100.0	

Exposure to CROSS-TELL publications also showed a relationship to change in agreement with CROSS-TELL propositions. Increase in agreement with the propositions was found for 47 percent of the total study population, 50 percent of those with heavy exposure, 48 percent of those with moderate exposure, 46 percent of those with slight exposure, and 41 percent of those with no exposure. (See Table 5) There were those who decreased their extent of agreement with the CRS statements on the poor, but they were fewer than those whose agreement increased. A decrease was found among 24 percent of those with heavy pamphlet reading, 31 percent of those who read moderately, 36 percent of those with slight publication exposure, 31 percent of those with no exposure, and 29 percent of the total population. There was no change in agreement for 26 percent of those with heavy reading exposure, 21 percent with moderate exposure, 18 percent with slight exposure, 27 percent of those with no exposure, and 23 percent of the total study group.

Other Findings of the Questionnaire Survey

In addition to the critical tests of agreement with major propositions of the Child Rearing Study, the questionnaire survey secured some other data on attitudes about poverty.

A list of six topics on which information was to be presented during the CROSS-TELL project was furnished in the first questionnaire, and respondents were asked to indicate their degree of interest. Following, in the order of interest expressed, are the topics, with the percent of respondents checking strong interest.

How the very poor attempt to manage on their incomes; types of adjustment to situations of stress.	56 percent

TABLE 4. PERCENT WHO CHANGED IN AGREEMENT WITH CRS PROPOSITIONS ACCORDING TO EXPOSURE TO MEETINGS

Change in Agreement	Exposure to Meetings				
	None	Slight	Moderate	Heavy	Total
Increase	48%	44%	62%	--	47%
No change	22%	25%	31%	--	23%
Decrease	30%	31%	6%	--	29%
TOTAL	(391)	(121)	(16)	--	(528)

TABLE 5. PERCENT WHO CHANGED IN AGREEMENT WITH CRS PROPOSITIONS ACCORDING TO EXPOSURE TO PUBLICATIONS

Change in Agreement	Exposure to Meetings				
	None	Slight	Moderate	Heavy	Total
Increase	42%	46%	48%	50%	47%
No change	27%	18%	21%	26%	23%
Decrease	31%	36%	31%	24%	29%
TOTAL	(70)	(129)	(120)	(209)	(528)

Patterns and problems of rearing children among low income families in Washington.	55 percent
The life goals the urban poor set for themselves and their children.	54
The effects of city living on the life styles and personal functioning of the very poor.	53
Conceptions among low income persons of adequate and inadequate husbands and fathers.	40
Attitudes toward sex held by parents and children and the training of children in sex practices.	36

In the first questionnaire, some of the insights regarding poverty which were developed in the Child Rearing Study were presented, and expression of agreement or disagreement was sought. Some findings from the questionnaire response of 869 persons are summarized, following a statement of the CRS observation or conclusion.

> CRS found that low income parents lose confidence in their ability to control their children at an earlier age in the lives of their children than do middle class parents. *Agreement with this finding was expressed by 57 percent of the respondents.*
>
> Hylan Lewis has repeatedly expressed the view that the "culture of poverty" idea is not useful to explain differences between low income and middle class people and may even be harmful to the anti-poverty effort. *Only 35 percent of the study population agreed with this view.* Related to this proposition is the statement that the poor are not like everyone else. They think and feel differently; they look upon a different America than the middle class looks upon. *This view found agreement among 48 percent of the respondents.*
>
> CRS felt that job insecurity among Negro men is a more important reason for the dominance in the family of Negro women than the heritage of slavery tradition. *Agreement with this view was high, with 77 percent expressing concurrence.*
>
> CRS observed that low income families places as much or more value on education than middle class families. *Forty-three percent of the study group agreed.* CRS disagreed with the proposition that low income families can be organized into a

viable community organization on the basis of residential proximity, *but 58 percent of the study audience agreed with it, as do very many practitioners of community organization.*

There was a strong case made in the CRS materials for the opinion that the values of low income people are the same as middle class values but social and economic circumstances pose special hardships for low income individuals who try to live up to these values. *This view was accepted by 63 percent of the questionnaire participants.*

CRS disagreed with the often-expressed thesis that middle class social workers cannot really understand or communicate with low income persons. *Most of the study population also disagree, with only 10 percent expressing agreement.*

In the second questionnaire, a different approach was taken. From recent literature, a number of proposals for the remedy or alleviation of the problems of urban poverty were culled and expressed in terse statements. The respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement. Following are illustrations of the views of the 528 persons who replied, with the percentage who agreed with the proposed solution.

As schools are one of the most crucial springboards from poverty for the young, school systems must adapt to the special educational needs of children from poor families.	94 percent
The prevention of new poverty should focus on all children, not just those of the poor, with the objective of minimizing school dropouts who later become the unemployable adults.	89
Education today does not seem to be effectively reducing occupational and income inequalities for youth coming from the lowest income families.	82
Additional resources need to be allocated for the War on Poverty.	80
The school should assume responsibility for the early detection and referral for treatment of many of the medical defects and diseases of children.	80

Considering the rent that impoverished families can pay it is evident that adequate shelter cannot be provided them by private enterprise at a profit. Government subsidization of housing for this group should be given high priority.	79 percent
Health programs are an essential part of anti-poverty efforts. To build a health nation, we must start with our children. Our next step should be some form of junior medicare.	77
Anti-poverty measures should focus not only on ways to increase the income of the poor, but also on how the poor spend what little income they have.	76
A guaranteed opportunity to earn an annual income is a better, more realistic and more enlightened way to fight comparative poverty than a guaranteed income.	76
Public assistance needs to be replaced by some plan that does not stigmatize the recipients of aid.	72
Expenditures per pupil should be higher in districts where the poor live than in those more fortunately endowed.	69
Business leaders throughout the country should move into the social welfare field and offer constructive alternatives to the Government's programs.	63
Persons of low educational and economic attainment are only too frequently poor managers of even the limited resources available to them.	59
Far to many people are poor because they do not have the individual capabilities which would enable them to take jobs even if they were available.	53
The need for public assistance should be met by a Federally financed and administered program, with uniform standards of eligibility and benefits.	51

These are the 15 solutions, of the 35 listed, with which more than half of the respondents agreed.

On the other extreme were the following solutions which received least support from the questionnaire participants.

Whatever public assistance is given should be extended in the form of a non-interest bearing loan. No relief recipient should be obligated to repay this loan but would not be eligible to vote until it was repaid in full.	2 percent
The most desirable way of alleviating poverty is through private charity.	2
Priority should be given to the largest groups in poverty. This implies that more attention should be given to the aged than to any other social category.	6
The whole problem of providing for the poor should be taken over by the Federal Government so that funds now being used by cities and states can be released for other urban problems.	14
Proposals to guarantee a minumum level of income for everyone are impractical because they would involve the Government in excessive administrative complexities.	21
The best way to achieve a minimum income level for the poor is through immediate improvement of public assistance programs.	24
The most effective means of helping the poor is by providing them with special services and goods in kind.	24
Unemployment is well down on the list of major causes of poverty. Much of the Government anti-poverty effort aimed at alleviating unemployment is misdirected.	26
A public employment program would be the best way of ensuring a minimum level of income for the unemployed poor.	34

Responsibility for the medical care of children should rest with their parents.	34 percent
The unskilled and poorly trained who are unemployed should be given interim work by private firms under contract to the government with a guarantee that at least the minimum wage would be paid.	44
The most appropriate way of assisting the poor is to raise their cash income under the assumption that the family unit itself is the best judge of how to allocate its expenditures.	42
Programs to raise family income to some absolute standard wrongly assume poverty is a short-run problem.	45
As a means for eliminating economic need, improving public assistance would probably be ineffective.	47
Each needy individual, or family should receive a minimum level of income as an absolute right.	49

Conclusions

The results of the before and after questionnaires reveal that is it possible to reach an intended audience with information about the results of a research program. Communication through printed publications reached considerably more of the audience than communication through meetings.

There was a significant change in the response of the audience on selected conclusions reached in the earlier research study. There was greater agreement in the second questionnaire response with the points of view propounded by the communication program and based on the research findings.

Although some slight tendencies were apparent, there was no consistent and significant correlation between the degree of change in agreement with the research conclusions and the extent of exposure to the communication program.

Appendices

Appendix I: EXHIBITS SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH WITH THE CROSS-TELL SUMMARY REPORT

1. Hylan Lewis. "Culture, Class and Poverty," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., February, 1967. 49 pp.

2. Luther P. Jackson. "Poverty's Children," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., September, 1966. 38 pp.

3. CROSS-TELL Institute Notebook, CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., 1966-67.

4. Anna Holden and Luther Jackson (eds.). "Perspectives on Poverty. A Workshop Summary and Study Manual," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., December, 1967. 121 pp.

5. Camille Jeffers. "Three Generations. Case Materials in Low Income Living," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., October, 1966. 35 pp.

6. Luther P. Jackson. "Telling It Like It Is! A Dramatic Reading Based on the Words of the Poor," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., November, 1966. 16 pp.

7. CROSS-TELL Newsletters, News Releases and Other Publicity

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   (b) CROSS-TELL Newsletter, April, 1966

   (c) CROSS-TELL Newsletter, June, 1967

   (d) CROSS-TELL Press Release on "Poverty's Children," for release Sunday, February 20, 1966. Mimeographed. 5 pp.

   (e) "Social Workers Scored in Report," *The New York Times*, February 20, 1966, 1

   (f) "11 Children and $52 a Week," *The Washington Daily News*, October 12, 1966, 70

   (g) "Poverty Labels Divert Attention from Issues, Sociologist Says," *The Washington Post*, February 27, 1967, 3

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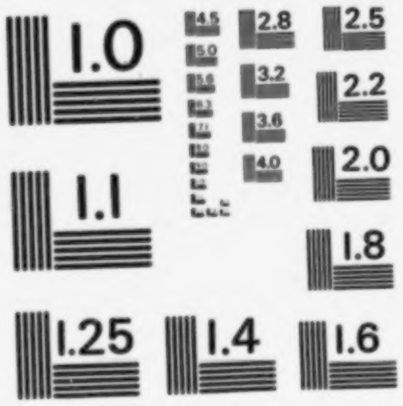
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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(i) "Actors Dramatize Values, Goals of Poor in 'CROSS-TELL' Program," *The HWC Newsletter,* November, 1966, 4-5

(j) Carol Honsa. "Sometimes It's the Innocent Girl Who Learns Babies Don't Come from Heaven," *The Washington Post,* January 29, 1967, F17, F20

8. Elliot Liebow. "Men and Jobs," CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., no date. 34 pp.

9. Luther P. Jackson. "Summary of *Living Poor,*" CROSS-TELL, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D. C., no date. Mimeographed. 22 pp.

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Appendix II : CHILD REARING STUDY PROPOSITIONS ABOUT POVERTY

A summary of Child Rearing Study propositions about poverty utilized by CROSS-TELL in organizing and disseminating CRS findings on low income families. This outline was extracted from the CROSS-TELL booklet, "Perspectives on Poverty," where each proposition is documented and supported by relevant CRS material.[1]

I Child Development

A. Priority to Physical Needs: The amount of family income and the evenness of its flow makes a significant difference in child rearing priorities acted upon by parents. Major priority among families with low income tends to be given to meeting basic physical needs -- food, clothing, and shelter. The need to invest a significant proportion of energies into meeting basic physical needs on inadequate income can result in a kind of compartmentalization of child rearing concerns.

B. Child Concern: Regardless of the quality of active concern about their children, parents -- with few exceptions -- do not prefer or approve the circumstances in which they now live and in which their children are brought up. Even in the case of the most neglectful parents, the evidence points to the fact that they ascribe no virtue to neglectful behavior in themselves or in others, or to neighborhood disorganization, or poor housing. If there is any suggestion of approval, it smacks of perverseness, defiance, bravado, or desperation of the I-don't-care type.

C. Independence Training: Some mothers seem to withhold affection not because they reject their children but because they want to train their children away from dependency on them. They have to get each child "out of the way" as soon as possible in order to go on to the next child.

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[1] 54ff

D. Child Control: Among low income families, unguided, unplanned influences outside the family or household are relatively more important and take effect relatively earlier in the child rearing process than among higher or adequate income families. Parental understanding and control of these influences are severely limited. The effects of these influences are reflected in the rather early appearance in some families of a sense of diminished or lost competence or confidence, particularly in the areas of control and emotional support.

II Goals and Aspirations

A. Setting and Meeting Goals: Among a considerable proportion of low income urban families observed, failures to conform in overt behavior to the so-called middle class values are due less to any lack of recognition of, and affirmation of, middle class values than to such factors as (a) lack of money to support these values, (b) a process of diminution in the will to do so, and (c) a lessened confidence in their own and especially their children's life chances in the present and future.

A great deal of behavior among low income urban families reflects a straddling of behavior and of goals associated with deprivation and poverty on the one hand, and higher socioeconomic status and affluence on the other hand.

B. Comparisons Between Generations: A major aspiration of low income parents for their children is to see their children do better in life than they have been able to do themselves -- especially in jobs, education and family behavior.

Many low income parents assess their own child rearing performances in terms of advances they have made over the child rearing circumstances and performances of their own parents.

III Sex and Illegitimacy

A. The Slavery Factor: One of the new stereotypes or "neo-stereotypes" is that the high illegitimacy rates among Negroes stem from slavery and are to be explained by the matriarchal family developed on the plantation....Assuming that the plantation tradition has some influence, there may still be some doubt about the extent to which family patterns of Negroes today can be attributed to a "hang over" from slavery, rather than to more recent conditions....Leaning too much on the slavery crutch prevents us from moving more quickly toward sounder understanding and practice.

B. Value of Marriage: The often-heard statement that no stigma attaches to illegitimacy among low income Negroes usually carries the implication that no stigma means no penalty, and that this means it doesn't matter whether one is born in or out of wedlock. Birth in wedlock is an important value, but in any given instance, it might be preempted by another important value, or its realization thwarted by practical considerations.

C. Inhibitions Blocking Sex Education: Another stereotype holds that the sexuality of the lower class is spontaneous, natural and free from inhibitions. A distinction must be made between exposure to and experience in sex, on the one hand, and the striking shame and inhibition that block parents from teaching their children about sex.

D. Income Factors Affecting Illegitimacy: The lack of income and work factor suggest a possible shift in focus from thinking of much illegitimacy as being related to a supposed absence of moral and cultural values. Goodly portions of illegitimacy, it would seem, are related to the absence of money for divorce or the lack of incentive for divorce because of the depressed lot of the low income male.

IV Income and Management

A. Expectation of Man's Economic Support: A major concern of the low income wife or mother is with the man's ability to "take care of" or "be responsible for" his family financially.

B. Management of Money: A major factor in the survival of marriages among low income families is the effective control of money.

C. Pressure of Family Size: A major point of pressure for the low income male appears to be an increase in family size with no comparable increase in family income or earning capacity.

D. Establishing Priorities: The lack of sufficient money and its irregular flow restrict child rearing options and force a continuous shuffling of priorities among food, shelter, clothing, health, educational, recreational and other demands.

V The Low Income Male

A. Woman's Images of Man: Wives' and mothers' definitions of good and bad husbands and fathers are particularly responsive to the amount and flow of income and to the way in which available income is handled.

B. Meeting Socially Defined Male Roles: The economic and social roles wished of, and expected of, the low income male as husband and father by wives, mothers, and children are not different from those of the middle and upper classes, but his abilities -- and the family and community consequences of his inabilities -- to fulfill these roles are different.

VI Urbanization and Discrimination

A. Varieties of Urban Negro Family Life: Assuming that the plantation tradition had some influence, there may still be some doubt about the extent to which family patterns of Negroes today can be attributed to a "hang over" from slavery, rather than to more recent conditions....Perhaps the most clearly cultural element in this connection is the belief of many that after one hundred years the heritage of slavery wields more influence than such intervening variables as urbanization and continuing social and economic deprivation.

For our purpose...there is no such thing as the Negro family. If we are to make any practical sense at all, we must think and plan in terms of Negro families and the broad spectrum of behavior and values involved. In programming, training and public interpretation there needs to be recognition of, and stress on the near-infinite variety of adaptions to American society.

B. The Slum Setting: Convergence of Poverty with Other Ills: Poverty is endemic in the center city slum, and it is no accident that there occurs the classic convergence of poverty with other ills. Poverty in the city is obviously not confined to the slum, but the fact that it is embedded there with other ills makes it more difficult to treat than if it were in a non-slum setting.

C. Unwanted Togetherness: Different types of low income families often live side-by-side in the same neighborhood or area, but often that is practically all that they do, or want to do together....Much community organization and block work assumes that because they live in the same area, that this in itself provides or connotes a sound basis for developing a more viable and organized community. The truth is that in our slums there are likely to be wide gaps between the hard core poor and the other poor -- the more respectable and deserving poor as it were.

D. Life Chances in the Urban Slum: The life chances and the actual behavior of low income families are not to be confused with the cultural values and the preferences of families so classified.

Appendix III : THERE WAS NO FOOD IN THE HOUSE

- A Comment on Diversity and Priorities Observed Among Low Income Families

This is an example of information prepared by Luther P. Jackson, director, for the CROSS-TELL Institutes. This particular statement was made at the HWC Institute on October 6, 1966, at the Washington Gaslight Auditorium, 1100 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The mother said: *There was no food in the house and I didn't want them to have to go to school hungry and then come home hungry too. I felt that if I kept them home with me, at least when they cried and asked for a piece of bread, I would be with them and put my arms around them.*

This mother was named Mrs. Burke by the Child Rearing Study. At the time of the interviews she was 43 years old. She had given birth to eleven children and was pregnant with another one which was born near the end of the interviews. Another child died at birth. The mother thought she heard the baby's neck crack while the doctor was pulling the baby out of her.

Mrs. Burke had thought that women could not have babies after they reached 40, but there she was, pregnant again, with her youngest child only one-year-old. She was there, sick and pregnant, with eight young children at home and with no food in the house.

The Burke case, as told in Camille Jeffers' booklet, "Three Generations," is a most dramatic illustration of a theme that is recurrent in Child Rearing Study findings. That theme is the hard choices that poor families have to make for themselves and their children. No matter what they wish to be or want to be, most of these families can not afford to dream. The must -- again, again and again -- return to the cruel realities of poverty -- the basics of life: food, clothing, shelter. And for Mrs. Burke, this meant trying to feed, clothe and house her family on a fluctuating income which consisted mainly of the $52 a week that her drinking husband earned as a restaurant worker in nearby Virginia.

In obtaining or trying to obtain the basics of life, poor families tend to establish priorities. Mrs. Jeffers tells us that wants and wishes aside, the number one priority for Mrs. Burke was food. If there is nearly sufficient food, Mrs. Jeffers continues, clothing came next in the rank order of priorities. As for housing, Mrs. Burke was relatively well off, even though all three of her rooms, save for the kitchen and bath, were crowded with beds. She was happy that she had a yard for the children.

Food, clothing and shelter came first, then if there was any time, money or energy left, Mrs. Burke could concern herself with the family's health and the children's education, but at this particular time there was no food or money in the house. Her husband had only given her two dollars in two weeks. Additional money came from her 24-year-old son Donald, who gave $10 and later $20 a month from his earnings as an Army private. Donald said he liked the Army because he didn't have to worry about paying rent or getting his food. Thirteen-year-old Kenneth worked in a market on Fridays and Saturdays, and from his $5 daily wage he reportedly gave $3 to his mother. Nine-year-old Harold picked up dimes and quarters in tips by carrying grocery bags for the customers at a supermarket.

As Hylan Lewis puts it, the amount of family income and the evenness of its flow makes a significant difference in child rearing priorities acted upon by parents. Within their limited income, they must make choices for themselves or their children. These choices are not made arbitrarily; nor are they dictated by cultural imperatives, other than those of the broader

American society and its economic structure. These choices are nothing if not pragmatic; nothing if not logical. As Dr. Lewis suggests, these choices are conditioned not only by the amount of income, but by how regularly the money comes in, and to the extent that the family can depend on the money. Where the money comes from and where it goes is not a matter of saving for a vacation or a child's college education, but rather a matter of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. Mrs. Burke, then, did care about her children's education and she taught her children to care about education, too. But for her children, as well as herself, food and clothing came first. Witness the testimony of Beatrice, age six:

> *I am getting my shoes so I can go to school and that makes me happy. Now when I get in school, if I have to stay away from school a lot of times or a long time, then I'm going to write my teacher a note and I'm going to tell my teacher I can't come to school because I ain't got no clothes.*

Contrary to what is said about the poor the Child Rearing Study found that poor families are fully aware of the value of education, as well as other middle class values, but lack the money, the "know-how" and "contacts" for realizing educational and career goals.

Another thing that is said about the poor is that they have no future time orientation; they live for today; that they give no consideration to budgeting, to planning. The classic reply to this charge is given by one mother who asked, *How can you budget when you ain't got nothing to budget?* This charge of wasting money would be particularly galling to Mrs. Burke whose precise accounting of where the money goes would put the most frugal middle class housewife to shame. She speaks in terms of the food and clothing she can buy with one dollar, or 50 cents, and also of the one or two pennies she tries to give to her children. *I think children ought* *to have a little something to spend,* she said. Thus for all of her poverty, Mrs. Burke is not so poor that she does not share the values of the larger society. Her wants and her wishes for the children are pretty much the same as those of more fortunate Americans. The tragedy of Mrs. Burke and so many families known to the Child Rearing Study was, as Hylan Lewis says, the unremitting tension between their desire and their ability to help themselves and their children.

The problem that low income families have in "making ends meet" will be the subject of another meeting in this series of CROSS-TELL discussions. But this preliminary statement on income and consumption is essential in casting the problems of poverty in proper perspective. Whether the subject is "crime in the streets" or teaching "disadvantaged" children, one must renturn to the basic problem of people who lack money. In this context, the Child Rearing Study is not a study of Negro families or so-called culturally deprived families. It is a study of low income families, Negro and white, as their numbers are reflected in the mainly Negro population of the District of Columbia. And within the ranks of the poor, Negro and white, the Child Rearing Study found a tremendous amount of diversity. CRS workers found poor parents who were lazy, others who were ambitious; some strait-laced, others sinful; some wasteful, others thrifty. It would seem, then, that within their economic bounds, the lives of the poor are as diverse as human nature itself.

To illustrate this diversity, our primary focus tonight is on just two families -- the Burkes and the Gradys. The Burkes which I have already cited were in a bad state in many ways. The 49-year-old Mr. Burke as Mrs. Jeffers pointed out was without the optimism and pride that he displayed when he was young and twenty. Mrs. Burke was fearful that her husband, in a drunken rage, might kill her and the children. His cursing and abusiveness, Mrs. Burke said, caused at least two of the children to hate their father. Although the reasons for the children's hatred are amply documented, we can only speculate on why the father was so abusive. Perhaps in his children he saw his failure as a father and husband, as a breadwinner for his family and as an example for his children. He convinced himself that work was the only important fatherly function -- even though his earnings as a kitchen helper gave him no status or satisfaction and not nearly as much money as the mother and children, would have received if he had deserted them and they had gone on public assistance. Although his children were hungry, he would not apply for Surplus Food. Although more than one third of this monthly income was going for rent, he would not apply for public housing. Perhaps she saw the need for public food and public housing as a public admission of his failure. Again if we might speculate, he perhaps felt that his wife and older children were fully aware of his failure, so he reserved his love and affection for the very youngest child -- the one-year-old Bertram who was not old enough to find him out. And there was at least one area of family life in which Mr. Burke could demonstrate his manhood. That was through sex, and from the evidence, Mr. Burke was not about to give up the pleasure of sex even if it meant still more hungry children. Witness this statement from his wife:

> *While I was in the hospital the doctor wanted to tie my tubes off so I wouldn't have any more babies. I wanted to have my tubes tied off but my husband would not sign the papers....*
>
> *The doctor said that he thinks my husband is afraid that he won't get no more satisfaction from -- you know -- our relations at night....He explained to my husband but my husband kept saying "No."*

Mr. and Mrs. Burke, to sum up, did not get along. He was feared by most of his children. As a wage earner, he worked for a pittance. He would not seek public food or housing. Perhaps the family would have been better off if he had left the house. Certainly the family would have been better off financially by going on welfare. But Mrs. Burke, his wife, was not like those Negro matriarchs we read so much about. She clung to the traditional concept of the family: the man, the woman, the children. Mrs. Burke gave this explanation:

> *I know children need their father and that is why I tried to stay with my husband even though I don't like the way things go between me and him. But I stay with him so my children can have a father....*

Mrs. Burke's explanations aside, the plight of the Burke family suggests that some families might be better off without the father in the house. Or, quite simply, as Hylan Lewis puts it: "A sound one-parent home may be better for a child than a torn and strife-ridden home." This statement, however, should not be construed as an endorsement of so-called broken homes. Everything else being equal, certainly the two-parent home is better on every score; child rearing and control, education and character development, physical care and emotional support. One of the points made by the Burke family is that neither one parent or two parent homes should be looked at as gross statistical categories. They should be looked at one by one. Such a close examination would show that the presence of the father is not *ipso facto* evidence of family stability.

The Burke case also provides further arguments against the matriarchal theory. Mrs. Burke's 24-year-old son Donald, who was in the Army, was obviously the strongest male figure in the family. Donald was born out of wedlock before Mrs. Burke married her husband. Perhaps the reason why

Donald was so admired by Mrs. Burke and the children was that he was all the things that Mr. Burke was not. To Mr. Burke's chagrin, Donald was a substitute breadwinner, a substitute companion, and a substitute help-mate in the rearing of children. When he went into the Army, Mrs. Burke not only missed the money that he provided, but also the emotional support that he gave her and the children. Her comments about how much she missed her son -- the *real* man in the Burke household -- were, for me, the most poignant section of Mrs. Jeffers' narrative. Here, I quote at some length from pages 15 and 16 of the booklet:

> *Donald did a wonderful job in helping me out here in the home and in doing for the other children.*
>
> *He used to scrub the floors and keep them very clean, especially his own room. He used to wash his clothes when he was eleven.... When he was nine he could go to the store and knew how to count his change.*
>
> *Days that I was feeling bad he would fix breakfast for me and also help out in getting the other children ready for school.*
>
> *Donald always told me he would never get married as long as I am living....I told him he should get married to a good wife but he told me 'No.' He wanted to help me out and he would not get married for that reason.*
>
> *Donald was just like a father to the children. He would give them show fare and a little money once in a while and the children loved him....*
>
> *Kenneth was sick when he* [Donald] *went into the Army. He sits with his head hanging down. He don't have nothing to say to nobody. I look at him and my eyes fill up....*
>
> *Frances just feels awful about it....*
>
> *Ain't nothing for us to do but just lose our minds.*

Another sad and ironic note struck is Mrs. Burke's statement when she is sick and pregnant at 43: *I hope this baby will be a girl. I just don't want no more boys to go in the Army.*

Yet when faced with the total loss of Donald, not only to the Army but to a younger woman -- a wife, Mrs. Burke holds fast to a noble middle class concept of the attitude mothers should have toward their sons: *Go ahead and marry her if you want to* (she told Donald). *This is your life and you should live it as you think and see that you should.*

As we have seen, the Burke family was a two-parent family. The father worked and worked hard -- if only for a pittance. The family did not receive one dime of public assistance. On the face of these surface characteristics, one would think that the life chances for the children of the Burke family would be better than those for the Grady family -- the second family we shall focus on tonight. When you read Mrs. Jeffers' account, you will see that the Burke family was not only wracked by poverty but by several personal tragedies -- some of which grew out of poverty, others out of probable race discrimination. The Grady family -- headed by a 300 pound spinster -- was struck by equally tragic events, but only in more abundance. There were several violent deaths by murder and by automobile. Living in the Grady household was a brother-in-law who had been recently released from prison after an 18-year term for stabbing Miss Grady's sister to death. One gets an immediate clue to Miss Grady's character by her explanation for having a murderous brother-in-law in the house. She said: *God has punished him enough.*

Yet on the surface, Miss Grady's household would not appear to be as strong as the Burkes. The children in the household -- five at the time of the CRS interviews -- had come to her through the tragic deaths of several of her sisters. In all, Miss Grady had been responsible for the complete rearing or partial rearing of 20 children. And in contrast with the Burkes, Miss Grady's foster children were on the public assistance rolls. In short, the Burkes would pass the test of any critic who would measure family function by family structure, or by any critic of the rising cost of public welfare. On these counts, the Gradys would fail. Yet, individual differences must be taken into account as well as statistical and even economic ones. And Miss Grady was truly a remarkable woman. She had a lot of things going against her and her weight of 300 pounds was not the least of them. She had known poverty ever since she was born, the daughter of a tenant farmer in rural Prince Georges County. And she never got beyond the second grade.

Miss Grady's facility for training children is summarized in your notebooks and is spelled out subsequently in the quoted responses. Here, I shall cite one example which makes as strong a case as any I've heard for parents not doing their children's homework. Here, I quote how Miss Grady reacted to a request from her teen-age niece who was taking a course in dressmaking:

> *She had a project in school, to put in a zipper. She brought it home and said, "You can do it so much better." But I told her I was not learning how to put in zippers -- she was. And there was two things about that. The first was that if I put it in, she still wouldn't know how. If the teacher said, "My, what nice work. Now would you come up front and demonstrate to the other girls how you did it?" She couldn't. The other thing, it wasn't honest -- putting my work up for hers'. So she can just sew those toreadors, put in her own zipper and take her little sewing to school.*

She taught children how to sew, how to clean, how to budget, and the children loved her for it. Even though she was their aunt, she was called "Mama" by the older children and "Granma" by the younger ones. That the children were willing workers around the house is shown by an exchange between Miss Grady and 12-year-old Vernon. Miss Grady told Vernon she would give him a nickel if he cleaned out the trash can.

I don't want your nickel, Vernon said.

Well, I might have a dime, Miss Grady replied.

I don't want your dime either, said Vernon.

Then, how about a quarter?, Miss Grady asked.

And no quarter, Vernon retorted.

Then 50 cents?, Miss Grady teased.

I don't want your money, Vernon insisted. *Keep your money. I'll clean it.*

That's my boy, Miss Grady beamed. *And I'm going to fix you some apple cobbler for dinner.*

Miss Grady set high educational goals for the children, higher than those set by most parents known to the Child Rearing Study. Most parents dared not dream or hope too much. Perhaps as an aunt, Miss Grady's ego investment was not as great. For whatever reason, Miss Grady was philosophical -- she even joked about ther disappointments:

> *I want Quinta to either be a doctor or a teacher. But I'm awfully afraid he's like me -- can't make the grade! I wanted Edward to be a doctor, too. But I think he's going to be a mechanic. The second grade was as far as I got -- I was promoted to the third and that must have been some strain.*

As the children grew older, and began to give little teen-age parties, Miss Grady thwarted party crashers by "killing them with kindness." Also during these parties she tugged her 300 pounds up and down the stairs time and again to guard against what might happen when the music was soft and the lights were dim. But despite her precautions, one of the girls became pregnant before marriage. Here, Miss Grady tells what happened when she took the father to court:

> *When the Judge asked Betty where she first had relations with the boy and she said "at home" I couldn't get my mouth shut. Then when he asked her "where abouts" and she said, "The front room," I just knew I was going to die.*

Betty, of course, was not the first girl -- lower lower class, lower class, lower middle class, middle class, upper class or upper upper class -- to make a so-called "mistake." Perhaps there comes a time when all children in some way resist parental preachments and parental control. But in low income families the Child Rearing Study found resistance to parental control at a younger age than in middle class homes. Children often took to the streets quite early, perhaps because many of their homes were so crowded and dreary, and like all people, they sought the company of their peers. In most cases CRS workers found that the pull of friends and neighborhood on low income children is accompanied by a reduction in the will of the parents to care and command. Frequently the children's freedom appears to be wrested from their begrudging elders. These children, in effect, hurl the challenge, "You can't make me!," and prove it.

Parents complain about how difficult it is to cope with children now-a-days. Some claim that the children learn too much too soon; that they know too much about sex or watch too much television. Thus as a cheerful optimist, Miss Grady differed from most of the parents or parent substitutes known to the Child Rearing Study. As for control, she kept most of her children in check until they were old enough to make reasonable decisions -- even though those decisions may have been the wrong ones.

Miss Grady's family, then, was not typical of low income families. Nor was the Burke family typical. There is no such thing as the typical Negro family, or the typical low income family, Negro or white. These are just families, plural, and they need to be seen as individual families by all who try to help them. The Child Rearing Study shows that within their economic bounds, poor families are pretty much like our own. One vital difference is that most of us here tonight, through God's grace, do not know what it means to have no food in the house.

Appendix IV: A CHRONOLOGY OF CROSS-TELL ACTIVITIES

A record of events which dates from CROSS-TELL's first public activities in February, 1966 to January, 1968.

February, 1966

16 Held a press conference introducing the CROSS-TELL project and announcing mimeographed edition of "Poverty's Children," CROSS-TELL's first booklet; the conference resulted in coverage by *The Washington Post, Washington Evening Star, The New York Times,* and WRC and WMAL television.

Published first issue of CROSS-TELL newsletter.

March, 1966

Issued 1,000 mimeographed editions of "Poverty's Children" and second CROSS-TELL newsletter.

April, 1966

25-26 Conducted the first in a series of CROSS-TELL round-table discussions with agency staff and community leaders in the fields of public education, recreation, social welfare, mental health, and social work education, CROSS-TELL offices, 3723 34th Street, Mt. Rainier, Md.

Toured D. C. Public Schools engaged in Saturday programs for pre-kindergarteners and their parents, known as "Family" schools.

May, 1966

5 Delivered paper, "Communicating Research on the Poor," at conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research-World Association for Public Opinion Research, Swampscott, Mass.

9 Conducted CROSS-TELL round-table discussions with youth and neighborhood and settlement house workers, CROSS-TELL offices, Mt. Rainier, Md.

16 Lectured to the Brookland Area Coordinating Council, a Washington neighborhood civic group, at a meeting at Catholic University.

23 Conducted CROSS-TELL round-table discussions with youth aides from the D. C. Recreation Department, CROSS-TELL offices, Mt. Rainier, Md.

Consulted with D. C. Superintendent of Schools, Carl F. Hansen.

Discussed CRS materials with the Staff of Family and Child Services of Washington, D. C., 929 L Street, N. W.

June, 1966

Consulted with Ruth Bates Harris, Executive Director, Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, Washington, D. C.

Discussed CROSS-TELL with Neighborhood Workers at Family and Child Services of Washington, D. C.

22 Joined Isadore Seeman, HWC executive director, in lecturing to Police Academy Training Prgram of the Metropolitan Washington Police Department.

July, 1966

Circulated selected CRS materials to potential discussion leaders for fall CROSS-TELL institute program.

27 Consulted with Staff Development Personnel of the D. C. Department of Public Welfare.

August, 1966

Completed annotation for printed edition of "Poverty's Children."

September, 1966

Published printed edition of "Poverty's Children" and issued CROSS-TELL newsletter.

29 Presented dramatic reading, "Telling It Like It Is!" featuring Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

30 Lectured to Urban Service Corps, D. C. Public Schools, and Sharpe Health School Volunteers.

October, 1966

3 Published second CROSS-TELL booklet, "Three Generations"

6 Conducted CROSS-TELL Teacher Institute at Terrell Junior High School, 1st and Pierce Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

11 Conducted CROSS-TELL HWC Institute at Washington Gaslight Auditorium, 1100 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

13 Conducted CROSS-TELL Social Worker Institute at the Biology School Auditorium, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

November, 1966

4 Published script of dramatic reading, "Telling It Like It Is!" as third CROSS-TELL booklet.

9 Lectured on CROSS-TELL to D. C. Health and Welfare Council at YMCA, 1736 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

11 Conducted CROSS-TELL Teacher Institute at Terrell Junior High School, Washington, D. C.

15 Conducted CROSS-TELL HWC Institute at Washington Gaslight Auditorium, Washington, D. C.

22 Conducted CROSS-TELL Social Worker Institute at YWCA, 17th and K Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

30 Discussed CRS materials at meeting of the HWC Health Conference, YWCA, 17th and K Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

December, 1966

1 Lectured on CROSS-TELL at a meeting of the Family and Child Welfare Committee (agency staff) of the Alexandria Community Welfare Council, at the Alexandria Salvation Army, 1804 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Alexandria, Va.

8 Served as recorder for Urban Affairs Conference of the D. C. Consortium of Universities at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

8 Discussed CRS materials with staff of the Urban League Neighborhood Development Center, 1009 New Jersey Avenue, N. W., Washington, D.C.

13 Lectured on CRS views on "Culture, Class and Poverty" to Cardoza Project for Urban Teaching Interns, Cardoza High School, Washington, D. C.

Reprinted and distributed "Life on Welfare," an article from the December 19, 1966 issue of *The New York Times*.

January, 1967

9 Lectured on CRS materials to staff of Greenburgh (N. Y.) School District #8, Woodland High School, White Plains, N. Y.

21 Served as panelist at D. C. Conference on the Education of the Disadvantaged, Francis Junior High School, 24th and N Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

24 Conducted CROSS-TELL Teachers Institute at Terrell Junior High School, Washington, D. C.

24 Conducted combined meeting of CROSS-TELL HWC and Social Worker Institutes at Washington Gaslight Auditorium, Washington, D. C.

February, 1967

16 Lectured on CRS material to meeting of Prince George's Health and Welfare Council, Municipal Building, College Park, Md.

17 Consulted with YMCA staff members on the development of a central city program, YMCA, 1736 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

18 Participated in Tutor Conference of the "Future for Jimmy" program of the Washington Urban League, 1009 New Jersey Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

23 Lectured to urban affairs class, D. C. Teacher's College, Washington, D. C.

March, 1967

2 Consulted with Urban League Neighborhood Development Center, 1009 New Jersey Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. on public forum program.

13 Issued CROSS-TELL Newsletter.

28 Conducted a combined meeting of CROSS-TELL Institutes at the HWC Building, 95 M Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

April, 1967

8 Participated in Seminar on Today's Youth sponsored by Metropolitan Women's Democratic Club, Mayflower Hotel, Connecticut Avenue and DeSales Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

10 Lectured on CROSS-TELL to Russell Sage Fellows in Behavioral Science, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, New York, N. Y.

20 Prepared news releases for program, "The Urban Poor-And Promises Unfulfilled, a part of Howard University's School of Social Work observance of the University's centennial year.

24-25 Conducted two-day CROSS-TELL Workshop at HWC Building, Washington, D. C.

May, 1967

15 Lectured on "Urban Affairs and Race Relations," Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, New York, N. Y.

23 Visited National Capital Housing Authority's Valley Green project for first hand observation of public housing conditions in Washington, D. C.

June, 1967

Issued CROSS-TELL Newsletter.

4 Participated in WMAL-TV panel discussion program, *Close-Up;* topic, causes of crime in Washington, D. C.

13 Addressed graduates of Terrell Junior High School, Washington, D. C. at Promotional Exercises ceremony.

21 Lectured at a provisional course for new members of the Junior League of Washington, D. C.

23 Led discussion of CRS findings and implications for inner city youth at training session for staff of "15-12 Enrichment Program," a summer youth project of D. C. public and parochial schools for low income youth of Southeast Washington, Hine Junior High School, 7th and C Streets, S. E., Washington, D. C.

September, 1967

7 Lectured on CROSS-TELL to an institute for Pupil Personnel Workers of the D. C. Public Schools, HWC Building, Washington, D. C.; the institute was sponsored by the Washington School of Psychiatry.

October, 1967

2 Lectured and led discussion of CRS material on Child Development at a class on child welfare, School of Social Services, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

11 Led discussion of CRS findings to staff of the D. C. Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.

January, 1968

12 Led discussion of CRS findings at training session for enrollees in New Careers Training Program, 918 10th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Published "Perspectives on Poverty," a fifth CROSS-TELL booklet based on material from the CROSS-TELL Workshop, April 24-25, 1967.

Completed summary report to NIMH.

Appendix V : QUESTIONNAIRES USED IN EVALUATING THE CROSS-TELL PROJECT

Confidential

THE FIRST CROSS-TELL QUESTIONNAIRE

Please return to: Dr. Harold Goldblatt
Research Division
Health and Welfare Council
1101 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Here is a list of statements which have been written about the poor. Some are judgments of fact, others are judgments of value. None may correspond exactly to your opinion based upon your personal experience with or knowledge about the poor. Please check the position on the five-point scale which comes closest to your own opinion of the statement.

1. CHILD REARING PRACTICES OF POOR FAMILIES THAT APPEAR AS NEGLECT OFTEN HAVE THE PRACTICAL BASIS OF ENCOURAGING INDEPENDENCE AT AN EARLY AGE.
Col. 6 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

2. LOW INCOME FAMILIES PLACE AS MUCH OR MORE VALUE ON EDUCATION AS MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES.
Col. 7 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

3. JOB INSECURITY AMONG NEGRO MEN IS A MORE IMPORTANT REASON FOR THE DOMINANCE IN THE FAMILY OF NEGRO WOMEN THAN THE HERITAGE OF SLAVERY TRADITION.
Col. 8 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

4. IT IS BETTER TO BE AN UNWED MOTHER THAN AN UNHAPPY WIFE.
Col. 9 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

5. IMPROVEMENT IN THE INCOME AND EARNING CAPACITY OF YOUNG ADULT MALES IS A BETTER WAY TO PREVENT ILLEGITIMACY THAN BY SEX EDUCATION OR BIRTH CONTROL.
Col.10 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

6. LOW INCOME FAMILIES HAVE PRUDISH ATTITUDES AND INHIBITIONS ABOUT SEX MORE OFTEN THAN MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES.
Col.11 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

Health and Welfare Council CROSS-TELL Questionnaire, cont'd page two

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7. LACK OF MONEY IS THE MAJOR REASON WHY THE POVERTY-STRICKEN BEHAVE DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WELL-TO-DO.
Col.12 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

8. MOST LOW INCOME FAMILIES DO NOT DARE TO REACH FOR GOALS WHICH ARE TOO HIGH.
Col.13 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

9. STREET CORNER VALUES HELP MEN WHO HAVE FAILED AS BREADWINNERS, HUSBANDS, AND FATHERS TO FEEL LIKE ADEQUATE MEN ANYWAY.
Col.14 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

10. THEIR LOW LEVEL OF ASPIRATION PERFORMS A USEFUL SERVICE IN MAKING LIFE TOLERABLE FOR THE LOW INCOME PERSON.
Col.15 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

11. DRUNKENNESS IS THE MOST FREQUENT COMPLAINT THAT NEGRO WOMEN MAKE ABOUT "NO GOOD HUSBANDS."
Col.16 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

12. OUT OF WEDLOCK PREGNANCY IS A MISTAKE BUT EVERY GIRL IS ENTITLED TO ONE MISTAKE AS LONG AS SHE DOESN'T REPEAT IT.
Col.17 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

13. MANY SOCIAL WORKERS SHOW CONDESCENSION AND CONTEMPT IN DEALING WITH THE POOR.
Col.18 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

14. LOW INCOME FAMILIES SHOULD BE THOUGH OF AS CONFORMING TO AN ORGANIZED, DISTINCTIVE WAY OF LIFE RATHER THAN AS IMPERFECT IMITATORS OF MIDDLE CLASS WAYS OF LIFE.
Col.19 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

15. AMONG LOW INCOME FAMILIES THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS GENERALLY JUST THE PLACE WHERE THEY HAPPEN TO BE LIVING
Col.20 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

16. LOW INCOME PARENTS LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR ABILITY TO CONTROL THEIR CHILDREN AT AN EARLIER AGE IN THE LIVES OF THEIR CHILDREN THAN DO MIDDLE CLASS PARENTS.
Col.21 (1)___Strongly agree
(2)___Agree
(3)___Undecided, don't know
(4)___Disagree
(5)___Strongly disagree

17. THE ASSUMPTION THAT UNWED MOTHERS WOULD RATHER BE UNWED IS FALSE.
Col.22 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

18. THE POOR ARE NOT LIKE EVERYONE ELSE. THEY THINK AND FEEL DIFFERENTLY; THEY LOOK UPON A DIFFERENT AMERICAN THAN THE MIDDLE CLASS LOOKS UPON.
Col.23 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

20. MANY TEACHERS SHOW CONDESCENSION AND CONTEMPT IN DEALTING WITH THE POOR.
Col.24 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

21. THE "CULTURE OF POVERTY" IDEA IS NOT USEFUL TO EXPLAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LOW INCOME AND MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE AND MAY EVEN BE HARMFUL TO THE ANTI-POVERTY EFFORT.
Col.26 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

22. LOW INCOME FAMILIES SHOW CONSIDERABLY LESS UNDERSTANDING OF HOW EXTERNAL FACTORS INFLUENCE THEIR FATE THAN DO MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES.
Col.27 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Agree
(5)____Strongly disagree

23. LOW INCOME FAMILIES CAN BE ORGANIZED INTO A VIABLE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ON THE BASIS OF RESIDENTIAL PROXIMITY.
Col.28 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

24. THE VALUES OF LOW INCOME PEOPLE ARE THE SAME AS MIDDLE CLASS VALUES BUT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES POSE SPECIAL HARDSHIPS FOR LOW INCOME INDIVIDUALS WHO TRY TO LIVE UP TO THESE VALUES.
Col.29 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

25. THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING THE NEGRO AMERICAN TO FULL AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED SOLELY BY PROGRAMS TO ENHANCE THE STABILITY AND RESOURCES OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN FAMILY.
Col.30 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

26. MIDDLE CLASS SOCIAL WORKERS CANNOT REALLY UNDERSTAND OR COMMUNICATE WITH LOW INCOME PERSONS.
Col.31 (1)____Strongly agree
(2)____Agree
(3)____Undecided, don't know
(4)____Disagree
(5)____Strongly disagree

27. HERE IS A LIST OF TOPICS WHICH CROSS-TELL PLANS TO COMMUNICATE TO INTERESTED PROFESSIONALS DURING THE COMING YEAR. PLEASE PLACE A CHECK-MARK ALONGSIDE OF EACH TO INDICATE WHETHER YOUR INTEREST IN THE TOPIC IS STRONG, MODERATE, SLIGHT OR IF YOU ARE UNDECIDED.

Strong	Moderate	Slight	Undecided	CROSS-TELL Topic
____ 32(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	Patterns and problems of rearing children among low income families in Washington.
____ 33(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	The life goals the urban poor set for themselves and their children.
____ 34(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	Attitudes toward sex held by parents and children and the training of children in sex practices
____ 35(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	How the very poor attempt to manage on their incomes; types of adjustment to situations of stress.
____ 36(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	Conceptions among low income persons of adequate and inadequate husbands and fathers.
____ 37(1)	____ (2)	____ (3)	____ (4)	The effects of city living on the life styles and personal functioning of the very poor,

28. SEX

Col. 38 (1)_____Male
(2)_____Female

29. RACE

Col. 39 (1)_____Negro
(2)_____white
(3)_____other race

30. RELIGION

Col. 40 (1)____Protestant
(2)____Catholic
(3)____Jewish
(4)____Other answer

31. AGE TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY

Col. 41 (1)____Under 30
(2)____30 to 39
(3)____40 to 44
(4)____45 to 49
(5)____50 to 54
(6)____55 and over

32. WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

Col. 42 (1)____Washington, D. C.
(2)____a Northeastern state
(3)____a Southern state
(4)____a North central state
(5)____a Western state
(6)____Foreign born
(7)____Other answer__________________

33. AS A CHILD, WERE YOU REARED IN A FAMILY WHOSE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE...

Col. 43 (1)____Low income
(2)____Low middle income
(3)____Middle income
(4)____Upper middle income
(5)____Affluent
(6)____Don't know

Health and Welfare Council CROSS-TELL Questionnaire, cont'd page five

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34. AS A CHILD, WERE YOU REARED IN A FAMILY CONSISTING OF THESE ADULTS...

Col. 44 (1)____Mother only
(2)____Father only
(3)____Mother and father
(4)____Mother and stepfather
(5)____Father and stepmother
(6)____Grandparent(s) only
(7)____Guardian(s) only
(8)____Other family structure

35. WHEN YOU WERE A CHILD, WHAT WAS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION OF THE CHIEF BREADWINNER IN YOUR FAMILY.

Col. 45 (1)____Less than high school
(2)____Some high school
(3)____High school graduate
(4)____High school graduate plus technical education
(5)____Some college but no degree
(6)____Bachelor degree
(7)____Study beyond the bachelor degree
(8)____Don't know

36. OCCUPATION: ARE YOU A...

Col. 46 (1)____Elementary school teacher
(2)____Junior high school teacher
(3)____High school teacher
(4)____College teacher
(5)____Case worker
(6)____Group worker
(7)____Community organization worker
(8)s___Administrator
(9)____Public official
(0)____Other occupation

____

____

37. MARITIAL STATUS: ARE YOU...

Col. 47 (1)____Single
(2)____Married
(3)____Widowed, widowered
(4)____Separated
(5)____Divorced

38. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE YOUNGER THAN TWELVE?

Col. 48 (1)____None
(2)____One
(3)____Two
(4)____Three
(5)____Four or more
(6)____Not applicable

39. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE AGES TWELVE THROUGH EIGHTEEN INCLUSIVE?

Col. 49 (1)____None
(2)____One
(3)____Two
(4)____Three
(5)____Four or more
(6)____Not applicable

Confidential Confidential

THE SECOND CROSS-TELL QUESTIONNAIRE

Please return in the stamped, self-addressed envelope to:

Mrs. Charlotte Carbonell
Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area
95 M Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20024

Here is a list of proposals for the remedy or alleviation of the problems of the urban poor which have been suggested by writers of diverse points of view. None of these recommendations may correspond exactly with your opinion of what would be the best way or ways of dealing with the problems of the urban poor. Please check the position on the three-point scale which comes closest to your own opinion of the statement.

1. ADDITIONAL RESOURCES NEED TO BE ALLOCATED FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY.
Col. 6 (1) ________Agree
(2) ________Undecided, don't know
(3) ________Disagree

2. THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAY OF ASSISTING THE POOR IS TO RAISE THEIR CASH INCOME UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE FAMILY UNIT ITSELF IS THE BEST JUDGE OF HOW TO ALLOCATE ITS EXPENDITURES.
Col. 7 (1) ________Agree
(2) ________Undecided, don't know
(3) ________Disagree

3. PERSONS OF LOW EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC ATTAINMENT ARE ONLY TOO FREQUENTLY POOR MANAGERS OF EVEN THE LIMITED RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THEM.
Col. 8 (1) ________Agree
(2) ________Undecided, don't know
(3) ________Disagree

4. THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF HELPING THE POOR IS BY PROVIDING THEM WITH SPECIAL SERVICES AND GOODS IN KIND.
Col. 9 (1) ________Agree
(2) ________Undecided, don't know
(3) ________Disagree

5. THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE A MINIMUM INCOME LEVEL FOR THE POOR IS THROUGH IMMEDIATE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.
Col. 10 (1) ________Agree
(2) ________Undecided, don't know
(3) ________Disagree

6. PROPOSALS TO GUARANTEE A MINIMUM LEVEL OF INCOME FOR EVERYONE ARE IMPRACTICAL BECAUSE THEY WOULD INVOLVE THE GOVERNMENT IN EXCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLEXITIES.
Col. 11 (1) ____Agree
(2) ____Undecided, don't know
(3) ____Disagree

7. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE NEEDS TO BE REPLACED BY SOME PLAN THAT DOES NOT STIGMATIZE THE RECIPIENTS OF AID.
Col. 12 (1) ____Agree
(2) ____Undecided, don't know
(3) ____Disagree

8. AS A MEANS FOR ELIMINATING ECONOMIC NEED, IMPROVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE WOULD PROBABLY BE INEFFECTIVE.
Col. 13 (1) ____Agree
(2) ____Undecided, don't know
(3) ____Disagree

9. THE NEED FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE MET BY A FEDERALLY FINANCED AND ADMINISTERED PROGRAM, WITH UNIFORM STANDARDS OF ELIGIBILITY AND BENEFITS.
Col. 14 (1) ____Agree
(2) ____Undecided, don't know
(3) ____Disagree

10. WHATEVER PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IS GIVEN SHOULD BE EXTENDED IN THE FORM OF A NON-INTEREST BEARING LOAN. NO RELIEF RECIPIENT SHOULD BE OBLIGATED TO REPAY THIS LOAN BUT WOULD NOT BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE UNTIL IT WAS REPAID IN FULL.
Col. 15 (1) ____Agree
(2) ____Undecided, don't know
(3) ____Disagree

11. ANTIPOVERTY MEASURES SHOULD FOCUS NOT ONLY ON WAYS TO INCREASE THE INCOME OF THE POOR, BUT ALSO ON HOW THE POOR SPEND WHAT LITTLE INCOME THEY HAVE.
Col. 16 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

12. EACH NEEDY INDIVIDUAL, OR FAMILY, SHOULD RECEIVE A MINIMUM LEVEL OF INCOME AS AN ABSOLUTE RIGHT.
Col. 17 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

13. PROGRAMS TO RAISE FAMILY INCOME TO SOME ABSOLUTE STANDARD WRONGLY ASSUME POVERTY IS A SHORT-RUN PROBLEM.
Col. 18 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

14. A GUARANTEED OPPORTUNITY TO EARN AN ANNUAL INCOME IS A BETTER, MORE REALISTIC AND MORE ENLIGHTENED WAY TO FIGHT COMPARATIVE POVERTY THAN A GUARANTEED INCOME.
Col. 19 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

15. FAR TOO MANY PEOPLE ARE POOR BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE THE INDIVIDUAL CAPABILITIES WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM TO TAKE JOBS EVEN IF THEY WERE AVAILABLE.
Col. 20 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

16. AS SCHOOLS ARE ONE OF THE MOST CRUCIAL SPRINGBOARDS FROM POVERTY FOR THE YOUNG, SCHOOL SYSTEMS MUST ADAPT TO THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF CHILDREN FROM POOR FAMILIES.
Col. 21 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

17. EDUCATION TODAY DOES NOT SEEM TO BE EFFECTIVELY REDUCING OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME INEQUALITIES FOR YOUTH COMING FROM THE LOWEST INCOME FAMILIES.
Col. 22 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

18. EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL SHOULD BE HIGHER IN DISTRICTS WHERE THE POOR LIVE THAN IN THOSE MORE FORTUNATELY ENDOWED.
Col. 23 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

19. THE PREVENTION OF NEW POVERTY SHOULD FOCUS ON ALL CHILDREN, NOT JUST THOSE OF THE POOR, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF MINIMIZING SCHOOL DROP-OUTS WHO LATER BECOME THE UNEMPLOYABLE ADULTS.
Col. 24 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

20. A PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM WOULD BE THE BEST WAY OF ENSURING A MINIMUM LEVEL OF INCOME FOR THE UNEMPLOYED POOR.
Col. 25 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

21. UNEMPLOYMENT IS WELL DOWN ON THE LIST OF MAJOR CAUSES OF POVERTY. MUCH OF THE GOVERNMENT ANTIPOVERTY EFFORT AIMED AT ALLEVIATING UNEMPLOYMENT IS MISDIRECTED.
Col. 26 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

22. THE UNSKILLED AND POORLY TRAINED WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED SHOULD BE GIVEN INTERIM WORK BY PRIVATE FIRMS UNDER CONTRACT TO THE GOVERNMENT WITH A GUARANTEE THAT AT LEAST THE MINIMUM WAGE WOULD BE PAID.
Col. 27 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

please continue on page three

Health and Welfare Council Second Cross-Tell Questionnaire, cont'd. page three

23. CONSIDERING THE RENT THAT IMPOVERISHED FAMILIES CAN PAY IT IS EVIDENT THAT ADEQUATE SHELTER CANNOT BE PROVIDED THEM BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AT A PROFIT. GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZATION OF HOUSING FOR THIS GROUP SHOULD BE GIVEN HIGH PRIORITY.
Col. 28 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

24. HEALTH PROGRAMS ARE AN ESSENTIAL PART OF ANTI-POVERTY EFFORTS. TO BUILD A HEALTHY NATION, WE MUST START WITH OUR CHILDREN. OUR NEXT STEP SHOULD BE SOME FORM OF JUNIOR MEDICARE.
Col. 29 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

25. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MEDICAL CARE OF CHILDREN SHOULD REST WITH THEIR PARENTS.
Col. 30 (1) _______Agree
(2) _______Undecided, don't know
(3) _______Disagree

26. THE SCHOOL SHOULD ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EARLY DETECTION AND REFERRAL FOR TREATMENT OF MANY OF THE MEDICAL DEFECTS AND DISEASES OF CHILDREN.
Col. 31 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

27. PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE LARGEST GROUPS IN POVERTY. THIS IMPLIES THAT MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE AGED THAN TO ANY OTHER SOCIAL CATEGORY.
Col. 32 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

28. THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF PROVIDING FOR THE POOR SHOULD BE TAKEN OVER BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SO THAT FUNDS NOW BEING USED BY CITIES AND STATES CAN BE RELEASED FOR OTHER URBAN PROBLEMS.
Col. 33 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

29. THE MOST DESIRABLE WAY OF ALLEVIATING POVERTY IS THROUGH PRIVATE CHARITY.
Col. 34 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

30. BUSINESS LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY SHOULD MOVE INTO THE SOCIAL WELFARE FIELD AND OFFER CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMS.
Col. 35 (1) _____Agree
(2) _____Undecided, don't know
(3) _____Disagree

(You answered seven of the next eight questions the last time. But you may or may not have changed your mind since then.)

31. CHILD REARING PRACTICES OF POOR FAMILIES THAT APPEAR AS NEGLECT OFTEN HAVE THE PRACTICAL BASIS OF ENCOURAGING INDEPENDENCE AT AN EARLY AGE.
Col. 36 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

32. LOW-INCOME FAMILIES HAVE PRUDISH ATTITUDES AND INHIBITIONS ABOUT SEX MORE OFTEN THAN MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES.
Col. 37 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

33. LACK OF MONEY IS THE MAJOR REASON WHY THE POVERTY-STRICKEN BEHAVE DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WELL-TO-DO.
Col. 38 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

34. MOST LOW-INCOME FAMILIES DO NOT DARE TO REACH FOR GOALS WHICH ARE TOO HIGH.
Col. 39 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

35. DRUNKENESS IS THE MOST FREQUENT COMPLAINT THAT NEGRO WOMEN MAKE ABOUT "NO GOOD HUSBANDS."
Col. 40 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

36. AMONG LOW-INCOME FAMILIES THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS GENERALLY JUST THE PLACE WHERE THEY HAPPEN TO BE LIVING.

Col. 41 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

37. THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING THE NEGRO AMERICAN TO FULL AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED SOLELY BY PROGRAMS TO ENHANCE THE STABILITY AND RESOURCES OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN FAMILY.

Col. 42 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

38. THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING THE NEGRO AMERICAN TO FULL AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BY ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS WHICH WILL ENHANCE THE STABILITY AND RESOURCES OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN FAMILY.

Col. 43 (1) _____Strongly agree
(2) _____Agree
(3) _____Undecided, don't know
(4) _____Disagree
(5) _____Strongly disagree

39. DID YOU ATTEND THE DRAMATIC READINGS AT CRAMTON AUDITORIUM, HOWARD UNIVERSITY, BY OSSIE DAVIS AND RUBY DEE?

Col. 44 (1) _____Yes
(2) _____No
(3) _____Uncertain, don't remember

40. TO DATE, CROSS-TELL HAS CONDUCTED NINE INSTITUTES FOR TEACHERS, SOCIAL WORKERS, AND MEMBERS OF THE HEALTH AND WELFARE COUNCIL. HOW MANY OF THESE, IF ANY, HAVE YOU ATTENDED?

Col. 45 (1) _____None
(2) _____One
(3) _____Two
(4) _____Three
(5) _____Four
(6) _____Five
(7) _____Six
(8) _____Seven
(9) _____Eight
(0) _____Nine
(x) _____Uncertain, don't remember

41. TO DATE, CROSS-TELL HAS CONDUCTED TEN SPECIAL SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS LOCALLY. HOW MANY OF THESE, IF ANY, HAVE YOU ATTENDED?

Col. 46 (1)_____None
(2)_____One
(3)_____Two
(4)_____Three
(5)_____Four
(6)_____Five
(7)_____Six
(8)_____Seven
(9)_____Eight
(0)_____Nine
(x)_____Ten
(y)_____Uncertain, don't remember

42. HAVE YOU READ THE HWC CROSS-TELL REPORT ON POVERTY'S CHILDREN?

Col. 47 (1)_____Yes, all of it
(2)_____Yes,well over half of it
(3)_____Yes, about half
(4)_____Yes, less than half
(5)_____Yes,I scanned it for the parts that were important to me
(6)_____No,but I intend to,time permitting
(7)_____No, and I don't expect to read it
(8)_____No,I have not received a copy
(9)_____Don't remember

43. HAVE YOU READ THE HWC CROSS-TELL REPORT ON THREE GENERATIONS?

Col. 48
(1)_____Yes, all of it
(2)_____Yes, well over half of it
(3)_____Yes, about half of it
(4)_____Yes, less than half
(5)_____Yes,I scanned it for the parts that were important to me
(6)_____No, but I intend to,time permitting
(7)_____No,and I don't expect to
(8)_____No, I have not received a copy
(9)_____Don't remember

Please continue on page five

44. HAVE YOU READ THE HWC CROSS-TELL REPORT ON TELLING IT LIKE IT IS?

Col. 49 (1)____Yes, all of it
(2)____Yes, well over half of it
(3)____Yes, about half of it
(4)____Yes, less than half
(5)____Yes, I scanned it for the parts that were important to me
(6)____No, but I intend to, time permitting
(7)____No, and I don't expect to
(8)____No, I have not received a copy
(9)____Don't remember

45. HAVE YOU READ THE HWC CROSS-TELL REPORT ON CULTURE, CLASS AND POVERTY?

Col. 50 (1)____Yes, all of it
(2)____Yes, well over half of it
(3)____Yes, about half of it
(4)____Yes less than half of it
(5)____Yes, I scanned it for the parts that were important to me
(6)____No, but I intend to, time permitting
(7)____No, and I don't expect to
(8)____No, I have not received a copy
(9)____Don't remember

Please answer the following questions (which you have already answered) as a check on our mailing control system.

Age?______ Sex?______

Place of Employment? ______________________

Occupation? ______________________________

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR YOUR HELP.